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Hesse voters confound all expectations

...s in the Land of Hesse did not deli... blow to the Social Democrats as ... people, including the pollsters, ex... The Free Democrats, former coa... partners with the SPD, came off ... They failed to get even the 5 per ... the votes cast needed to get repre... ...d in the Land assembly. Both the ... and the CDU had slightly reduced ... The Greens gained and in theory, ... the balance of power. Results: CDU ... per cent (down 0.4 per cent), 52 (53 in the last assembly); SPD 42.8 ... (down 1.5), 49 (50); FDP 3.1 per ... (down 3.5), 0 (7); Greens 8 per cent ..., 9 (0); Communists 0.4 per cent ...nged), 0 (0). The turnout was 86.3 ... compared with 87.7 per cent at ... election in 1978.

...s in Hesse have shown them... ...ves still to be good for a surprise ...

...y are also prepared to reward ... decisions and to punish ... they regard as betrayal.

...cial Democrats Helmut Schmidt in ... and Holger Börner in Hesse ... fairly feel they had been re... ...ded at the polls. The Free Democ... were caned for being turncoats in ... Alfred Dregger failed at the ... attempt to lead the Christian De... ...rats to victory in the state.

What Herr Börner made out to be a ...ous victory three quarters of an ... after polling ended was, to begin ..., merely a refusal by voters to let ... CDU win.

Herr Dregger immediately announ... that he was resigning as CDU ... in Hesse, but that by no means ...fied the situation in the state.

Herr Börner remains Prime Minister ... lacks a majority in the state assem... He is both unable and unwilling to ...borate with the Greens.

It remains to be seen what the upshot ... be. After Herr Dregger's resigna... ...n there could even be a Grand Coali... of Christian and Social Democrats.

The final option is a fresh poll, which ... state assembly itself would have to ...de on. Until it does, the SPD will be ... power and the CDU out.

The repercussions in Bonn and on ... was in progress there were even ... important, especially as all parties ... said the Hesse results would bear ... their policy in Bonn.

CDU leader Helmut Kohl in particu... was hoping a CDU victory would ...se his bid to oust Chancellor ...midt. He was encouraged to do so ... opinion poll forecasts.

... pollsters will not have to bear the ...sequences of their failure to forecast ... results accurately. That is a burden ... Kohl and the CDU will have to ...

The Hesse results can only be inter...ed in one way: that the proposed new Bonn coalition of Christian and Free Democrats does not enjoy majority support among voters.

It was the very announcement of proposed changes in Bonn that prompted voters in Hesse to change their minds, chuck the FDP out of the state assembly and refuse to give Herr Dregger's CDU the absolute majority it seemed sure of polling.

It is naturally still conceivable and entirely legal for the CDU, CSU and FDP to vote in a new Chancellor in Bonn, but it is more than doubtful whether Helmut Kohl will still run the risk.

Crossfire from Herr Strauss and the CSU, confusion in the FDP and doubts in his own party could prevent him from going ahead.

The FDP is hardest hit. Free Democratic leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher can only regard the Hesse results as a slap in the face for his policy.

There are sure to be increasingly vociferous calls for him to resign, but who is then to lead the FDP? It runs the risk of a split and of forfeiting all influence, possibly for good.

No-one has cause to be gratified by this possibility. As long as the electoral system does not ensure clear and stable majorities any weakness of the FDP will weaken democracy itself.

Helmut Schmidt can afford to feel at least as proud and satisfied as Holger Börner. It was his determined action that brought about the turning point in Hesse.

But he cannot feel pleasure unalloyed. The Social and Free Democratic coalition in Bonn has broken up, but the alliance of Herr Kohl, Herr Strauss and Herr Genscher does not enjoy electoral backing.

A fresh general election might be the best solution, but what if they were to lead to a stalemate, as in Hamburg and Hesse?

What, in other words, if neither of the two major parties were to gain a working majority in the Bundestag and the only other party in the Bonn parliament were the Greens?

Schmidt and Börner have succeeded in ensuring that the Greens' showing did not entirely live up to expectations, and neither of them is able or willing to submit to the Greens' demands.

How on earth could they be expected to do so after being leaned on so heavily for so long by the Free Democrats?



Smiles for some ... Hesse SPD leader Holger Börner (right) with the Land CDU leader Alfred Dregger (centre) and FDP leader Ekkehard Gries after the Hesse election. (Photo: dpa)

For Herr Börner these are immediate worries. They could be tomorrow's worries for the Social Democrats in Bonn, who at least have been spared the FDP's despair and the CDU's disappointment.

Delight at the Hesse results can but fuel the fires of SPD enthusiasm for even greater efforts in a general election that might yet be held before the year's end.

Siegfried Maruhn

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 27 September 1982)

Free Democrats' drubbing the least of the surprises

The election in Hesse surprised everyone. No one thought the CDU would not get an absolute majority, or that the SPD would do so well.

If the politicians themselves were astounded, they weren't as astounded as the opinion poll people, who failed dismally.

The Free Democrats were hardest hit. Their support was halved and they received fewer than 5 per cent of the votes cast, which means that they will not be represented in the new Hesse Assembly.

But their fate had been predicted by many.

The relatively poor showing of the Christian Democrats, led by Alfred Dregger, and the slight losses of the Social Democrats were, in contrast, amazing.

The SPD decline was brought to a halt in Hesse. This might also happen at the polls in Bavaria too on 10 October, and even further afield.

The break-up of the Bonn coalition has revitalised the SPD, bearing out Social Democrats who banked on left-wing solidarity at the end of the SPD-FDP nightmare in Bonn.

They were expecting a wave of solidarity even from potential electoral supporters of the Greens, or environmentalists, many of whom did indeed decide to vote SPD as usual after all.

If the Hesse results are any guide to voters' views in the country as a whole, the Christian and Free Democrats, about to join forces in Bonn, are the clear losers.

The break-up of the Social and Free Democratic coalition in both Hesse and Bonn made it impossible to argue that the results were merely local in significance.

The result was deadlock, with neither of the major parties able to command a majority and neither prepared to form a coalition with the Greens.

It was a state of affairs similar to the results of the Hamburg elections last June, but Hesse Premier Holger Börner, who like Mayor Dohnanyi in Hamburg is a Social Democrat, promptly said he would not be joining forces with the Greens.

His aim was to pursue policies a number of Christian Democrats would be unable to disown, while as caretaker head of government he would aim at fresh elections.

The Hesse results were bound to have an enormous effect on coalition talks in Bonn. Where, as the results were declared, were the Christian Democrats who had been clamouring for an immediate general election?

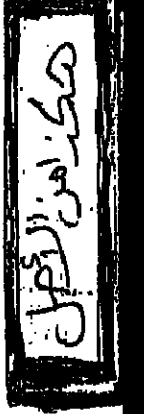
They for once had nothing to say, especially Herr Strauss and his CSU in Bavaria.

Herbert Kremp

(Die Welt, 27 September 1982)

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The German Tribune Third World Review is included with this issue.



■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Opinion differences not just a matter of personalities

Differences of opinion between Bonn and Washington are sure to continue despite any change of government in Bonn.

Ideologists in President Reagan's entourage, and the President himself, may hold views that have much in common with those favoured by the Christian Democrats in Germany.

But that could well lead to Washington levelling specific demands, with Bonn being expected to act in accordance with US wishes on controversial issues.

This would apply in particular to relations with the Soviet Union and to the possibility of a credit squeeze on Moscow and the Warsaw Pact countries.

The reasons for a number of natural differences of viewpoint between Washington and Bonn are a matter of more than the personalities of the men at the top.

They are more a matter of the changes that have taken place since the days when the Federal Republic of Germany was regarded as a model pupil of Uncle Sam's and America's position as leader of the West was undisputed.

The generation of US politicians who established a special relationship with Bonn are no longer at the top. Truman, Acheson, Eisenhower and Dulles are dead.

John J. McCloy is an old man who is held in high esteem and whose views are still in demand, but he no longer wields crucial political influence in Washington.

A hallmark of US domestic trends over the past decade and a half has been that the political, economic and intellectual East coast Establishment that determined the course of US foreign and security policy from the 40s to the early 70s no longer does so.

It did not take the arrival of Ronald Reagan on the Washington scene to shift the centre of political power to the West, South-West and South of the United States.

California, Texas and the new South now count for much more than the erstwhile power corridor from Boston to Washington, D.C.

The bitter experience of Vietnam and Watergate has yet to be fully digested. So has the steady loss of what was once a nuclear monopoly since the Cuban crisis 20 years ago.

So the unresolved economic crisis has been linked with attempts, embodied by President Reagan, to make America seem credibly strong again.

President Kennedy realised 21 years ago that the world was made up not of black and white but of shades of grey, and for much the same reason ties with the Russians were established in the later Eisenhower years.

Under President Reagan there has been a reversion to gut reactions. Basically Mr Reagan feels the world is made up of good and bad, with Communism and the Soviet Union being bad.

His views on communism, gained in younger years as a trade union leader in Hollywood, are not going to change; he truly believes in what he says.

Most people make the mistake of believing Reagan doesn't really mean what he says. They're quite wrong, say those who are acquainted with the strong will and at times stubbornness that lie behind the President's pleasant outward appearance.

His straightforward mental approach is in no way affected by subtle European doubts voiced in connection with, say, the gas pipeline contract or credit facilities for the Eastern bloc.

Mr Reagan takes note of the views held by America's allies that run counter to his own, but they have yet to influence either decisions he has reached or his personal prejudices.

His views are, moreover, shared by close associates such as William P. Clark, his security adviser, and White House aides Ed Meese and Michael Deaver.

Secretary of State Shultz has yet to provide tangible proof that he is departing in any sector from his undivided loyalty to the President, which he regards as the basis of his position.

America's partners in Europe, especially a new Bonn government led by the Christian Democrats, could hardly make a greater mistake than to try and jawbone Mr Shultz.

He has shown understanding for their special interests but it would be wrong to ring his praises in the vain hope of bringing about a complete change of viewpoint on the President's part.

The attempt to use the Secretary of State to influence the President led to Mr Haig's downfall at the State Department.

German civil servants and politicians who claim to be particularly well-informed on US affairs often tend to succumb to an understandable but unrealistic temptation.

Their ties are with the Establishment they have known in some cases since post-war student exchange schemes, with universities and institutes in Boston and the New York group that runs the quarterly magazine *Foreign Affairs*.

This is not to forget men like Henry Kissinger who seem to show such understanding for European views.

In such circles they hear criticism of the alleged primitive outlook of the Reagan administration. They are assured that it is only a transitional state of affairs.

They can also cry their eyes out over the lack of understanding shown by the current US administration for European affairs in general and German affairs in particular.

They then return home feeling reassured, after the intellectual accolade of being received by the authorities of the past, that Washington will soon be back on course, in line with Europe, with *Ostpolitik* and with detente.

But they are overlooking the fact that America, today more than ever, begins west of the Alleghenies.

In the rolling plains of the Mid-West, in the South and on the Pacific coast more US policy is decided today than ever before, and influence exerted on the President in office.

Many German visitors of standing reject as pointless, timewasting and beneath their intellectual dignity any suggestion of travelling to the heartland of the United States.

They will hear nothing of going to California, Washington or Oregon, where they would surely realise that America looks west accross the Pacific every bit as much as it looks east across the Atlantic.

They are almost exclusively preoccupied with German affairs and assume as a matter of course that Washington has nothing better to do than to concern itself with Western Europe.

6 German reluctance to see where US policy is made, west of the Alleghenies 9

They unerringly expect the stationing of US troops in Germany in their present strength to be a lasting state of affairs. The best that can be said is that their outlook is provincial.

Viewed in more negative terms, this attitude may be said to tetify to inability to grasp the tasks and politico-strategic priorities of a world power.

This they are unable to do even after more than 30 years of constant connections, travelling to and fro across the Atlantic.

A Christian Democratic Bonn Chancellor would do well to bear in mind that the United States is in the throes of a far-reaching process of change.

The main flow of immigrants today

Continued on page 4

President Reagan and Helmut Kohl in Washington in October last year. (Photo: Sven Simon)

How Mosco[w] reads the events in Bo[nn]

Pravda has long drawn atte[ntion to] the "stormy political maelst[rom in] Bonn in its coverage of German [affairs,] so the break-up of the Bonn co[alition] came as no surprise to foreign [policy] planners in Moscow.

A realistic view of the situatio[n ...] ken, but the probable change of [...] in Bonn nonetheless marks a [...] turning point in Soviet *Westpolit[ik]*.

The honeymoon of the early [...] between Moscow and the Germa[n So]cial Democrats is long gone, but a [num]ber of influential Soviet officials [...] Bonn fraction in the CPSU C[entral] Committee, see ties with the SP[D as] more than a useful feature of Sovi[et fo]reign policy.

For them the Social Democrat[ic] movement with which the Soviet C[om]munist Party traditionally has no[thing in] common, and there can be no do[ubt] that there have been points held in [com]mon in the history of the two wo[rking] class parties, even though their w[ays] may later have parted.

In the final days of the Social [...] Free Democratic coalition, Soviet p[ro]paganda stressed that there was a c[on]tradiction between the SPD leaders [and] the party's grass roots.

It sought to establish a difference [bet]ween what Helmut Schmidt did in d[ay-]to-day politics and what the party r[ank] and file favoured.

Despite having conferred with [...] Chancellor five times Mr Brezhnev [...] never managed to establish with [...] Schmidt the rapport he had with [...] Brandt.

Since the open break-up of the B[onn] coalition the Soviet Press has studio[usly] avoided polemics against the Chris[tian] Democrats and dealt with events [in] Bonn most objectively.

In retrospect the policy advocated [by] CPSU Central Committee officials, [...] of maintaining ties solely with the [So]cial Democrats, and that at the pa[rty] political level, can be seen to have b[een] not very astute.

Ties between Moscow and Bonn [at] government level have for some ti[me] been limited to the bare diplomatic [ne]cessities. Hopes and dreams of [days] gone by have given way at this level [to] detachment and objectivity.

Soviet tactics on missile moderni[sa]tion now look like having been to [no] avail. It is an issue that will not be [as] controversial in a CDU-led governm[ent] as in the SPD.

Moscow may firmly expect the n[...]

Continued on page 8

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HOME AFFAIRS

Jockeying for position in the corridors of power

[T]here is no sign of victory euphoria among the "new majority" partners [afte]r the break up of the Bonn coali[tion].

[P]erhaps the suddenness with which [the] burdens of government responsibili[ty] came to face the CDU leader, Hel[mut] Kohl, had something to do with [it].

[The]re are too many serious problems [in]volving both issues and personalities [to a]llow jubilation.

[Th]e joy at the Munich headquarters [of t]he CSU was also fleeting and mu[...] CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss [spo]ke of a "fateful hour."

[St]rauss, rather than FDP Chairman [Han]s-Dietrich Genscher is the key figu[re i]n the power struggle that has begun [in] Bonn.

Genscher needs the CDU/CSU to [hel]p him survive and Kohl needs the [FDP] to help him counter the weight of [the] powerful CSU.

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's sugges[tion] that the four parties scrap the vote [of n]o confidence and that they agree on [ne]w elections at the earliest possible [mo]ment has proved a masterly move. It [wa]s aimed at the weakest spot in his op[pon]ents' scheme.

Initially, Schmidt's move seemed to [ha]ve little chance of success. But it has [be]come a possibility because Strauss [wan]ts it as well.

[W]hy enlist the FDP when all opinion [pol]ls indicate that the conservatives [wo]uld get the absolute majority if elec[tion]s were held new? The question is [no]t only asked by Bavaria's CSU but [als]o by many of its friends in the CDU.

They logically also ask themselves [wh]y they should give the FDP the extra [tim]e it needs to rally themselves.

It is this line of thought that CSU [Ch]airman Strauss took with him to [Bon]n when he decided to go to the coa[liti]on talks, after initially deciding not [to].

Originally, the talks were to be con[duc]ted by Kohl and CSU leader in the [Bun]destag, Friedrich Zimmermann, on [be]half of the conservatives.

Schleswig-Holstein's Prime Minister, [Ge]rhard Stoltenberg, Kohl's most for[mi]dable rival for the Chancellorship, [ha]s now also joined the talks.

But this was not the only thing that [mes]sed up the Kohl-Genscher reckon[ing]. The CSU's demand that the former [Int]erior Minister Gerhart Baum be ex[clu]ded from a future cabinet came as an [eve]n worse blow.

This makes it impossible for Gens[che]r to rally the support from those [mem]bers of his party who oppose his [...].

But the worst blow of all is the CSU [dec]ision to seek new elections before [the] end of this year and, if necessary, to [go] along with Schmidt's suggestion. Genscher has no bridges left behind [hi]m and Strauss now pins his hopes on [an] absolute majority for the conservati[ves].

What he is after is to out-manoeuvre [no]t only Genscher but Kohl as well by [sec]uring for his party the key portfolios [in a] new cabinet: Interior for Zimmer[man]n right now and, after the hoped-[for] election victory, Foreign Affairs and [the] vice-chancellorship for himself.

Kohl has good reason for wishing the FDP re-elected to the Bundestag and thus prevent an absolute majority for the conservatives.

But Genscher has to cope not only with the disunity in his own party; he also finds himself between the twin millstones of the CSU's and his former coalition partner's wish for revenge.

In fact, his struggle for survival might prove tougher then he thought. His hope of returning to the Foreign Ministry within a week or so and of instantly attending the UN General Assembly and the Nato conference in Montreal, thus presenting himself as a rock of continuity, seems a bit too optimistic.

The question is, will the conservative and liberal negotiators really succeed in reaching agreement in time?

To make matters worse, there are many specific issues that still have to be settled among the conservatives themselves, not to mention the tug-of-war over the distribution of cabinet posts. For the latter, there is only a limited reservoir of suitable men since many of the best are committed to state cabinets.

But the SPD is also faced with a serious internal conflict. And the discussion about the successor to its leader in the Bundestag Herbert Wehner, is only a foretaste.

Party Chairman Willy Brandt doesn't think much of the suggestion that Helmut Schmidt take over.

The old dispute as to the greatest threat to the SPD's future is starting up again.

Schmidt has always wanted to concentrate on the centre because he says this is where the real political decisions are made.

Brandt has always wanted to keep the outer wings of the party together to the point where he was prepared to accept a drift to the left and retrench at a 30 per cent level, accepting the loss of government power.

Schmidt's cards in this game are not particularly good. An indications as to how the forces left of centre could restructure themselves was provided by the joint action of the Jusos and Judos (the young members' organisations of SPD and FDP). The chairman of the Judos has just called for a "new social bloc of reformers".

This bloc would consist of Social Democrats, left Liberals, suitable groupings of the Greens and the trade unions.

This makes a split of the FDP a danger that must be viewed as real.

There is a possibility that as a result of this power struggle our domestic policy will lose sight of its most important task: to ensure the long-term functioning of the parliamentary system and to arrive at a broad consensus for the new perspectives needed in view of the changes in our industrial society as a result of inevitable new technologies.

Belt-tightening and investment are as inadequate as a strategy as is mere manipulation in job-creating policies.

An all-out effort on the part of the public and all political forces will be needed if we are to wheather this process.

Whatever the outcome of the power struggle in Bonn, what we need now is an alliance of commonsense.

Wolf J. Bell

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 21 September 1982)

Coalition or not, a tough time lies ahead

It doesn't matter if the next government in Bonn consists of one party or a coalition: the next Chancellor and his cabinet will not be in an enviable position.

The CDU/CSU ministers and/or their Liberal partners will have to make unpopular decisions that will lead to stiff and widespread opposition.

Helmut Kohl's supposed plans for the future are bound not to coincide with basic public opinion.

In 1969, after the Grand Coalition interlude, when SPD and FDP took the plunge despite their slim parliamentary majority, they were at least able to do so in the certainty that their political aims would meet with public approval across party lines.

Then after years of student unrest and extraparliamentary opposition along with wide-spread disenchantment with the SPD-Conservative power cartel, a strong will to bring about reforms surfaced.

The electorate demonstrated this when it was called upon to chart the new course at the polls, though not as clearly as in the graphs presented by opinion surveys.

But the outcome was clear: the mere administration by Ludwig Erhard — whom the CDU considered the ideal Chancellor — met with opposition and his ultimate toppling as Chancellor gave a push to the move for fundamental reform.

The Grand Coalition was unable to keep pace with this reform drive; and though it managed to put the budget on a sound footing, pass the emergency laws and usher in fiscal reforms it bogged down in day-to-day squabbles over minor details.

This was at the bottom of the longing for social reforms which were in any event part of the SPD programme and for which the FDP under Walter Scheel had also opted.

At the same time, there was a growing conviction that the Federal Republic of Germany could no longer ignore the existence of the GDR. The call for a *Deutschlandpolitik* that would replace the confrontation with East Berlin by a dialogue grew louder. In fact, the whole of Bonn's *Ostpolitik* was put up for discussion.

A Social-Liberal coalition seemed the obvious way of satisfying these wishes.

After all, the FDP had demanded a "policy of small steps" in the *Deutschlandpolitik* (which included passes for West Berliners to enable them to visit the Eastern half of the city) even under Erich Mende.

Ludwig Erhard was not prepared to agree. But his successor, Kurt Georg Kiesinger, at least exchanged some letters with the GDR, which he invariably called "that phenomenon."

The Social Democrats also felt that this was not enough. Willy Brandt, who had stood for the Chancellorship twice, had rarely met with as much approval in his own party as when he put forward his thesis that the German-German confrontation must be replaced by "orderly relations."

All this met with an open ear in the Brandt/Scheel cabinet that had been formed in 1969. Both parties were determined to introduce domestic reforms and to relax relations with the East.

Now, in the 1980s, we again have two basic trends: the peace movement (which is not restricted to demonstrators) and the ecology consciousness to which the Greens owe their success, although it exists outside as their ranks well.

The most conspicuous difference between now and 1969 lies in the fact that the government that will soon take over in Bonn will not necessarily bend to these trends.

Disregarding Kurt Biedenkopf and Richard von Weizsäcker for the moment, the conservatives have not yet found the right stance to adopt towards the spreading fear of an unchecked arms buildup.

In any event, it is not enough to condemn the longing for a policy that would promote peace and stem the arms buildup by such generalisations as "dangerous anti-Americanism coupled with an equally dangerous neutralism."

Granted, there are anti-American accents in the peace movement but they are restricted to what is being done or intended by the Reagan Administration. The accusation of neutralism is also wrong.

After all, there are also conservatives, social democrats, liberals and undogmatic leftists who propagate a "new patriotism" involved in the discussion on nationhood and the future of the divided nation.

True, the blueprints that are being put forward are often enough immature, too theoretical and sometimes utopian.

But arms reduction is the common bond for all these people in their various camps who consider a head-on clash of the blocs more likely today than it was only a few years ago.

Those who will soon govern in Bonn are also not necessarily convinced of the urgency of ecological issues.

Though the CDU has some pioneers in this field, like the party's general secretary, Heiner Geissler, they are voices crying in the wilderness.

A Kohl government must face the fact that it will have to deal not only with those groups of the public who will protest against the added burdens that are imposed on them but also with growing pressure from those crying out for a policy aimed at securing the peace and safeguarding the ecology. And it is not only with the peace movement and the Greens that these objectives rank first.

Helmut Bauer

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 21 September 1982)

■ THE LAW

Closed hearings sought for some criminal cases

A prominent lawyer wants the accused in criminal trials to have the right to decide whether their trial will be open to the public.

His idea is that journalists would be allowed to attend, but would not be allowed to report until the end of the trial. This would apply to hearings at all levels including appeal courts.

The lawyer, Hans Dahs, says that open trials bring too much influence to bear on witnesses, judges, prosecutors and counsel.

He says the influence is indirect (through the Press) and direct and it is essentially negative. It means that justice is not seen to be done.

But the proposals met with stiff resistance at the 54th annual conference of German lawyers in Nuremberg.

Other issues dealt with included legal steps to help prevent companies going broke; the legal position of foster children; and standardisation procedures for some civil courts.

On the closed trial issue, the prevailing view was that courts should make better use of existing provisions to restrain the Press.

Objections to Dahs' plan included:

- Trials would become surrounded by myth because of the secrecy.
- The Press would somehow find a way to beat the law.

Supreme Court Judge Hanns Karl Salger said lower court judges should be bolder in using their current right of banning the public temporarily from court in certain cases.

He warned against clogging up the criminal trial proceedings even more. This must have been a reference to an idea put forward last year by German and Swiss lawyers. They called for some parts of trials to be held in secret where the accused had confessed.

The idea was to maintain privacy where the charge was not serious.

This is another issue on which the conference is going to have to take a stand.

The other issues dealt with by the 2,800 lawyers from many countries were less controversial but not less important.

The work that dealt with ways of preventing company insolvencies through the law and putting them back on their feet through a new reorganisation procedure attracted the most interest.

Attempts are already being made in the USA, France and Italy. There were many foreigners in this work group.

It is here that a wide variety of interests such as bankers, creditors, management and the trade unions as representatives of labour clashed.

But discussion was not marked by the implacable political and ideological conflicts of some previous congresses.

The family affairs work group dealt with a growing problem: the legal position of foster children. This is to be redefined. According to recent estimates, there are some 110,000 foster children living with strangers or relatives. The exact number is unknown.

The Civil Code has relatively few provisions dealing with foster children. There are some provisions in the Youth Welfare Act. But practice shows that they are inadequate to cope with the problems that are bound to arise, especially when a child in a permanent foster home develops emotional ties to his foster parents and the natural parents want him back.

There are many difficulties about making on-the-spot and legally binding decisions over foster children.

Must the lawmakers come up with a comprehensive set of laws defining the rights and duties of foster parents, natural parents and the foster child?

Many of the delegates said foster parents do not have enough rights.

Professor Reinhart Lempp said that a foster home should become permanent once it had established itself over a period. This would avoid struggles between foster and natural parents. But his proposal met with much opposition.

Another work group dealt with a government draft for a standardisation of procedures for Administrative, Social Affairs and Fiscal Courts.

The governments of Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria reject the draft because — as Baden-Württemberg's Justice Minister Heinz Eyrich told the Bundesrat — it confused procedures and was not practicable for the courts.

The objections focussed on the proposals to use single judges instead of a panel in Administrative Courts and the restriction of appeals.

Administrative Court Judge George Häring opposed the draft provision that would make higher Administrative Courts the first and only instance in complicated cases such as authorisation for nuclear power stations.

He said these cases in particular would involve for hearings in several courts. (Georg Häring was involved as a judge in the Wyhl nuclear power station hearings.)

Claus Donath

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 17 September 1982)

Secret trials 'a threat to legal principle'

The two great civil rights causes of modern history have been abolishing torture and opening up criminal trials to the public.

It was not until the beginning of the 19th century that the principle of open trial replaced the inquisition-type of trial handed down from the Middle Ages.

So it can be said that this marked the beginning of the rule of law in Europe. The realisation that secrecy and legality in criminal hearings could not go together became part of law. The accused must be tried in full view of the community.

This meant that the courts lost their aura of being the fount of all knowledge and judges were no longer a closed circle subject only to their brother judges and dictates of their monarch. Now they had to justify their decisions publicly.

The publicity also lent support to their independence from other state authorities.

Is all this now, in the waning years of this century, to be abolished?

The 54th conference of German lawyers in Nuremberg (an event with a long tradition) has made this question its central issue.

They are considering a proposition that, by partly closing some criminal trials, the legal rights of the accused would be improved.

The conference is more than just an academic forum of judges, prosecutors, lawyers and university professors. Its biannual meetings have always provided important impulses for the legislators. In fact, without it, the development of German law since the Wilhelminian era would not have progressed as far.

Almost all delegates at this conference were opposed to making hearings any less open.

The most avid opponents of open trials argue that all major criminal proceedings should be held in closed court.

Curiously, the most lively supporters of this anachronistic demand are criminal lawyers acting for clients.

The openness of criminal trials, they say, no longer guarantees a fair process. Instead, it strips the accused of protection and invades his privacy.

They illustrate this by saying: there is nothing a doctor accused of malpractice must fear more than a group of school children being taken to the court by their teacher to get a first-hand view of the workings of the law.

Back home, the children spread their version of the trial among parents and neighbours. The doctor finds himself without patients — regardless whether he has been acquitted or not.

But the criminal lawyers' main target of attack is not the public. It is the media, the yellow press and illustrated magazines in particular, whose reporters are looking for sensation.

These reports often have little to do with reality. The distortions, the criminal lawyers say, usually are at the expense of the accused.

Hans Dahs, the son of post-war Germany's most prominent criminal lawyer, who is spearheading the movement against open trials, does not want to bar all journalists from the proceedings. What he wants is an absolute ban on reporting until passing of the sentence in the first instance.

If the laws demanded by Dahs were to become reality, the muzzling of journalists would not only hit those who are out for a sensation.

It would also hit commentators of serious newspapers and independent broadcasting stations who would be prevented from criticising justice in questionable cases. This is a procedure which helps to ensure that justice is done.

Most miscarriages of justice occur in the first court. But once they have happened they are almost never rectified later.

Preventing journalists from reporting during a trial would amount to leaving the proceedings entirely to the courts and lawyers. They alone would safeguard basic rights in a trial — a function they have so far not excelled at.

Where the principle that an accused is innocent until proven guilty is in danger of being undermined by a media barrage against him, the public's rights must take second place. But must we really throw the baby out with the bathwater — only because the water is a bit too hot?

Hans Schueler

(Die Zeit, 17 September 1982)

Differences

Continued from page 2

comes from Latin America, the C... bean, Mexico and the Asian coun...

Congress in Washington form... of the US government and an new generation of American poli... intends to undertake a critical re... transatlantic ties.

This they plan to do in view of... need to put America's economic... in order.

Given the historical developm... West Germany and the geostr... position of the Federal Repub... CDU Chancellor will have no ch... but to do political business with the... viet Union and Eastern Europe.

At times he will also need to adv... specific needs of the European C... munity that run counter to w... Washington wants.

The Yamal gas pipeline from Si... to Western Europe is only the b... ning of the problems emerging on... political horizon.

Providing no progress is made in... Geneva talks between the superpo... the time will inevitably come when... to's missile modernisation resol... has to be implemented.

Failing a compromise between A... rica and Russia, the United States... start to deploy Cruise and Pershi... missiles in Germany.

Officially, Washington has nothing... say about the crisis in Bonn. It is... aware that anything it might say co... be misunderstood or interpreted... gross intervention in German dom... affairs.

But Washington has followed... course of events in Bonn tensely. Am... ricans who have come to know and... preciate Helmut Schmidt over the p... as a difficult but major partner and... respect his grasp of the facts will... derstand what a turning point it is.

Being intimately aware of the irel... relations with Bonn they will be w... aware of the significance of the bre... up of the coalition of Social and Fr... Democrats.

They will have no illusions or ind... in wishful thinking about the chang... power in Bonn.

They will also know that the nu... of genuine, experienced Europe exp... in key US government departments... declining rapidly.

The number of Americans who re... knows the ins and outs of the Germ... Question can be counted on the fing... of both hands these days.

There is a psychologically signific... gap between the pioneering days of t... Atlantic alliance and its present pra... tioners.

It is not yet clear who will take th... place in the United States.

So US observers are right in assu... ing that a new Bonn Chancellor need... no way have an easier time in deal... with Washington than his predecesso...

The new man may well have more... common ideologically with Mr Rea... and his aides than Herr Schmidt.

But Chancellor Schmidt spoke p... fect English and his insight into t... Anglo-Saxon mind made it much ea... for him to appreciate what made Am... rica tick.

Jan Reifenberg

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 September 1982)

THE ECONOMY

Three ways to hit unemployment without getting paralysed by pessimism

...re are no patent recipes to combat ...ging growth and rising unemploy... But the Institute for Management Administration (IIMV) has produced ...e job-creating strategies which were ...d recently at a meeting in Berlin. ...is how the Institute views the situa-

The head of the International Institute of Management and Administra... Studies (IIMV), Fritz W. Scharpf, ...ribes the political scene in Bonn: ...alysing pessimism in the face of ...employment prospects and growing ...us unemployment."

But there was not much evidence of ...s pessimism in Count Otto Lambs...ff's proposals for austerity which led ...the breakup of the Bonn coalition. ...conomic Affairs Minister until he ...gned with the other FDP Ministers, ...is a champion of pure market econo...y. He still believes in a 100 per cent ...pply-side policy despite the poor ex...ience with it in the USA and Britain.

The moderate supply-side policy that ...been practised in Germany since ...beginning of 1981 has, if anything, ...ated more unemployment.

But the classical job-creation policies ...ng Keynesian lines with their state ...motion of public and private de...nd have been ineffective due to satu...tion on world markets and as a result ...tight public sector money.

France is a case in point. In addition, ...ys Scharpf, there are political obsta...es that prevent such strategies

Any realistic approach to creating ...l employment again must therefore ...te place below the level of such ...eeping patent remedies that have ...w either proved counter-productive ...cannot be implemented for institutio...l reasons, says Scharpf.

IIMV recommends measures on a lo...l level, especially in three areas:

- Promotion of employment in small ...d medium sized firms;
- Stepping up such active work pro...tion policies as job creation and ...ining or re-training;
- Redistribution of the existing jobs ...ough shorter working hours.

It is not the corporate giants who ...ld employment promise for the future ...cording to studies by the IIMV.

In the second half of the 1970s, it was ...marily companies with payrolls of ...s than 200 that provided additional ...s while the big companies continu...ly cut back.

Large companies also helped prevent ...n redundancies (on their own staffs) ...y making their own components. This ...t their sub-contractors at risk.

The IIMV study has closely examin... various local approaches to promot... small and medium sized industrial ...ms as a means of boosting employ...ent.

A comparison between four regions, ...mburg, Paderborn, Oberhausen and ...rken, showed that Borken was doing ...st to develop employment.

The number of jobs in Borken rose ...more than 11 per cent in three years. ...e number is stagnating or has decli...d in the other regions.

Yet Borken is what is generally des...bed as structurally weak. It consists ...marily of small and trades industries, has a monostructure (textiles) and a shortage of public sector services and infrastructural institutions.

But Borken has for the past ten years had a central business promotion agency operated by the local authorities.

The agency has helped remove the threshold fear of small and medium sized companies in their dealings with the authorities. It has helped establish contacts between companies, banks, chambers of commerce, associations and the various authorities concerned.

Many small businessmen go to the agency when they think they have a good idea but do not know how to put it into action.

But such local business promotion presupposes long-term support for existing businesses rather than one-shot efforts to bring new industries to the region, says Benny Hjerm of the IIMV. He says it usually takes a long time for local businessmen to acquire faith in such promotion efforts.

The second sector of employment promotion — active job creation — also needs decentralisation, particularly for local employment offices, says IIMV.

Unfortunately, they are doubly plagued by Bonn's cash problems. They are understaffed, so it is impossible to cope with the growing tide of jobless; and, they say their budgets have been so drastically cut that they have had to reduce job-creation measures.

There are now only 27,000 "problem jobless" included in what is known as *Arbeitsbeschaffungsmassnahmen* (ABM). These are special projects organised by the Labour Office in a bid to create jobs. A year ago, the figure stood at 41,000.

Since two-thirds of those included in the ABM find permanent jobs, nothing can be achieved by budget cutbacks in this field because they only lead to increased spending for unemployment benefits.

According to an IIMV survey, DM1m in government spending creates 10 to 20 new jobs if used for public sector investments. The same amount spent on ABM would create 40 to 50 new jobs.

IIMV surveys in Gelsenkirchen and Leer show that — contrary to detractors claiming the opposite — there are enough meaningful ABM projects.

Gelsenkirchen has expanded its ABM since 1977 in an effort to create 1,000 jobs. The projects were usually drafted jointly by the city administration, charitable institutions, works councils and the Labour Office.

One of the focal points here was the testing of new types of services. ABM, for instance, developed a mobile assistance service of the *Arbeiterwohlfahrt*.

Other services that have been established with ABM funds dealt with environmental projects and the renovation of housing.

One of the problems that arose here was that a one-year promotion of "problem jobless" was too short.

Only once sufficient federal and state funds for three years were provided in Gelsenkirchen did enough employers of ABM jobless agree to continue employing these people after the promotion period had expired.

Leer is characterised by above-average unemployment and an enormous shortfall in such public sector institutions as transport and social services.

"A generous interpretation of promotion conditions by the local Labour Office, combined with intensive counselling of the institutions concerned and a suggested exchange of experience between these institutions, succeeded in creating interests in a sufficient number of ABM projects," says IIMV researcher Hans E. Maier.

His description of one of the projects: together with the Leer Labour Office, the small municipality of Weener evolved a job-creation project for 12 juveniles who were unable to find apprenticeships after leaving school.

The youngsters are now being trained in woodworking techniques by an elderly carpenter hired by the ABM. At the end of this training, Weener will try to find apprenticeships for them.

The survey shows that ABM measures in Leer have reduced unemployment by an average of 1.5 per cent.

But it is not only local Labour Offices and municipalities that can help create jobs. There is much that can be done on state level as well, as shown by IIMV studies on state programmes for the promotion of part-time work. The importance of this is evidenced by the nation's 250,000 unemployed part-time workers.

Programmes of this nature were carried out in five states (Rhineland-Palatinate, Hesse, Bremen, Saarland and

Jobs: bleaker outlook

Unemployment in Fed Rep Germany (millions)

1981 — Average for year 1.3 million — 1st qtr 2nd 3rd 4th: 1.3, 1.1, 1.3, 1.5

1982 — Average for year 1.8 million (estimate) — 1st qtr 2nd 3rd 4th (estimate): 1.9, 1.6, 1.7, 2.0

Lower Saxony) between 1979 and 1981.

These states introduced one-shot wage subsidies ranging between DM1,200 and DM3,500 for every newly-created part-time job. The terms varied from state to state, which naturally had an effect on the results.

Bremen promoted skilled part-time jobs only. The result was that there were relatively few takers for the subsidies.

Bremen was also the only state to include men as well in the scheme (most other programmes were for unemployed women).

Most of the jobless who found work in this way had been unemployed for more than three months.

IIMV's Renate Weitzel and Andreas Hoff stress, however, that four-fifths of the jobs would have been created anyway because the companies needed extra staff.

It also turned out that, while it would have been best to draft the conditions for the subsidies in a way that would prevent the use of part-time workers below their qualifications, this would have met with lack of employer interest.

The researchers conclude that any meaningful state measures to promote part-time work call for special conditions.

The state and the parties to collective bargaining would have to do their share in making "the status of part-time work equal to that of full-time employment." This would call for strict regulations governing minimum working times and social conditions to arrived at through collective bargaining.

The technical and organisational prerequisites for part-time work should be better researched and there should be more information on them.

One of the main aspects here would be to improve the quality of part-time work.

Government agencies should promote a few selected model companies of various sizes and in various branches of industry. These should be companies that allow more self-determination in matters of part-time work, such as job sharing.

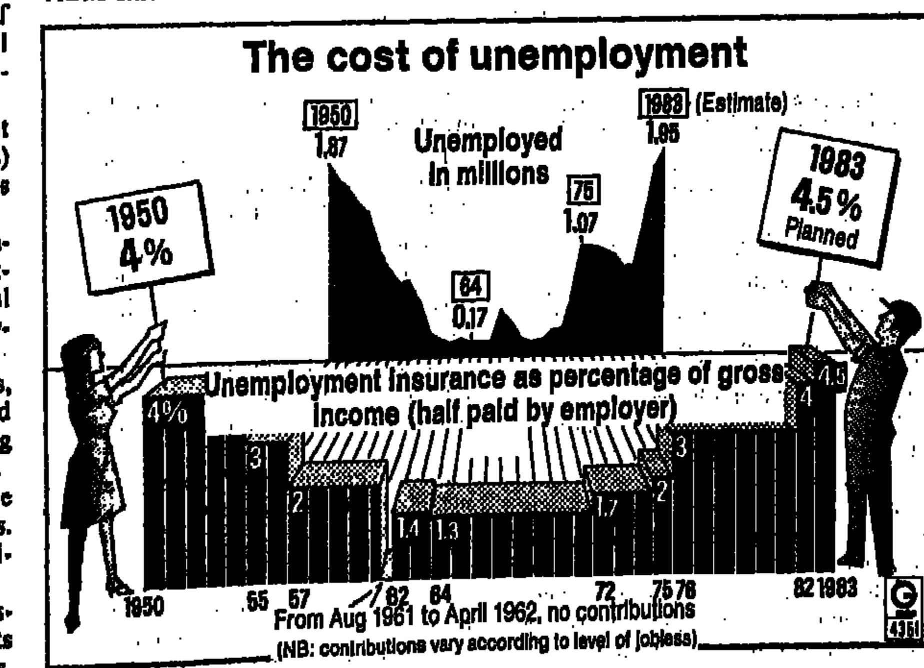
The possibilities of part-time work in the public sector have been "far from exhausted," the study says.

Most IIMV studies are aimed at researching the institutional preconditions for a successful realisation of employment initiatives such as the question as to how existing programmes can be "sold" to local authorities.

Most studies show that what matters primarily is to have a network of counselling and information agencies. Another important aspect is for public institutions, organisations and companies to cultivate contacts.

Roland Bunzenthal

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 Septembre 1982)



■ BUSINESS

Best hopes rest with what next year might bring

When the export business was booming in the spring, many businessmen warned that it would not last. Their warnings seem to be coming true.

The warnings then were based on doubts about being able to finance, in the longterm, capital goods deals.

But the decisive elements today are spreading protectionism and the worldwide decline in demand.

Germany's exports so far this year have not been bad at all. The first seven months of the year showed a growth of more than 11 per cent against the same period in 1981. Adjusted for inflation, this still amounts to five-per-cent growth.

But the past few months have seen a drop in exports — the first for some time.

According to Bundesbank figures, the decline from the beginning of May to the end of July against the previous three months was a nominal one and a real three per cent (seasonally adjusted).

This means that exports in terms of volume were not much higher than a year ago.

There is no change for the better in sight, as evidenced by the influx of orders. In terms of volume, industry's foreign orders (May to July) were down eight per cent against the previous three months. This means that towards the end of this period the level of a year ago was not even reached.

The main reason for this change lies in the fact that most Western industrial countries have also failed to overcome the recession, and it is these countries to which three-quarters of our exports go.

It is especially the champions in the export field, such as the machinery, electrical and commercial vehicle industries, that were particularly badly hit by low investments abroad.

The steel industry has also been hit hard.

These trends have been aggravated by Third World and East Bloc balance of payments problems.

Even some Opec countries, whose orders pushed along last year's export boom, have had to tighten their belts now. Their foreign exchange reserves have declined due to reduced oil consumption and low prices.

Exports to Libya, Nigeria and Iraq are down, leaving only Saudi Arabia and Kuwait buying German goods just as heavily.

The situation in non-oil producing developing countries is much worse. Steep rises in foreign debt and the persistence of high interest rates have forced them to cut back on imports.

The East Bloc situation is similar. The increase in shipments to the Soviet Union — especially pipeline components — is the exception rather than the rule. Indicators show that exports will remain low for the next few months.

Most economists, along with the Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry, even expect exports to decline in the second half of the year because there is nothing to indicate that the economic position of trading partners will improve in the near future.

One major German economic research institute does not even expect the United States to make a marked recovery.

There is much to indicate that demand and production in Western Europe and Japan will decline further. And no one can say when the developing countries will overcome their foreign exchange problems.

But order books are full, so the decline in Germany's export business is unlikely to be dramatic.

Hopes now rest with next year when the recovery in the industrial countries that has been predicted for the past two years is expected to materialise at last.

Prospects have improved due to interest rate reductions and progress in fighting inflation. But this should not be overestimated. Still, the economy could pick up enough to make our exports grow again; and though this is not enough to act as a locomotive for the German economy as a whole, it could be enough to stabilise the domestic economy.

Hans-Jürgen Mahnke

(Die Welt, 22 September 1982)

State-owned firms criticised

Germany's state-owned corporations have come under heavy fire from the Institute for the Germany Economy (IW), an organisation with close ties to the business community.

A study says that, in a market economy, the business policy of state-owned companies should be geared to general economic necessities and serve as an instrument of the state's economic policy.

German state-owned companies had not done this.

For example, in the worst post-war recession, in 1975, they went further in cutting back on investments than the German business community as a whole and reduced their payrolls by three per cent.

IW says: "By adopting this attitude, Germany's state-owned corporations have worsened the general economic decline and thus failed in their function."

In view of this, it was now more necessary to consider privatising these businesses. This could relieve public sector budgets.

But the study also finds certain things in favour of state-owned German companies when comparing them with others in the European Community.

Though across-the-board capital goods investment in the EEC countries declined against the previous year in 1975 (the decline ranged from one per cent in Britain and 12.7 per cent in Italy) state-owned companies in most Community nations went against the trend and invested.

Capital goods investments by Luxembourg state-owned companies were up 27.4 per cent in the crisis year 1975. The figures for Holland, Britain and France were 22.8, 14.7 and 14.1 per cent respectively.

"The state-owned companies of these countries thus clearly acted anticyclically," says IW.

Those in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Italy, on the other hand, did nothing to oppose the general downward trend.

In Germany, for instance, the investments of state-owned companies declined more steeply (7.7 per cent) than those of private industry (4.2 per cent) in 1975.

Along with Ireland, the Federal Republic of Germany is the only EEC country whose state-owned companies laid off staff in 1975.

IW concedes, however, that there is a difference in the role state-owned companies play in the various EEC countries.

Their share of overall capital investments stands at 3.8 per cent in Luxembourg and 16.3 per cent in Britain.

In Germany, they account for about ten per cent of total investments.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 21 September 1982)

Confidence the elixir, says Bundesbank

Renewed business confidence is the only way economic stagnation can be beaten, says the Bundesbank in its monthly report.

It warns against putting too much confidence in money supply measures: the policy of easier money is alone not enough to bring about sustained recovery.

Favourable credit terms alone are also not enough to cause a new upswing. A general improvement in business earnings is needed.

Overall business conditions have improved since the beginning of this year and production costs have risen only slightly or have in fact declined along with interest rates.

Investors can now benefit from better taxation provisions and investment subsidies, the report says.

But none of this has helped growth. The GNP in the first half of this year equalled that of the second half of 1981. And around the middle of the year, industrial output actually declined.

Since industry is cutting down on staff, unemployment continued to rise during the summer.

The Bundesbank says the deteriorating bussiness prospects are because of flagging exports. Foreign demand, which was the main pillar of the economy at the beginning of the year, is flagging and new orders are slowing.

Demand has declined particularly in the Opec countries.

Plagued by balance of payments problems, the developing countries and the East Bloc have also had to cut back.

Though German exports to other industrial countries are still tending to rise, the Bundesbank fears that it won't last.

Conditions for investments have improved — and this concerns primarily the earnings of the business community.

But many companies are not yet over the hump because they have not yet managed to offset the losses of the past few years.

The Bundesbank report was prepared before the breakdown of the Bonn coalition.

Harald Manke

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 21 September 1982)

Emergency wa[…] for sick firms

Small and medium sized busi[…] in trouble now have an emerg[…] service to contact.

Their national federation has se[…] an anti-bankruptcy counselling ser[…] in Bonn because more and more f[…] are going to the wall.

Insolvencies rose by 39 per cen[…] the first half this year to 7,462 c[…] pared with the first half last year. H[…] dreds of inquiries have been receiv[…]

Big firms can always use man[…] ment consultants when they h[…] problems, but not smaller firms. Th[…] managements often know neither w[…] to do nor who to speak to.

The new service has 100 counse[…] who work in close consultation wi[…] firm of management consultants.

The first step is to find out wha[…] wrong. Then what can be done. T[…] counsellors act as temporary c[…] managers. They do what they ca[…] help, including negotiating with ba[…] to reschedule loans.

Federal and state funds subsidise […] consultancy fees by between 25 and […] per cent.

Small and medium sized firms […] themselves in trouble for many reaso[…] bad organisation, wrong products, […] many debts, customers who won't […] can't pay.

Dieter Härthe of the service: "[…] have one case in which a perfectly he[…] thy firm found itself in difficulties b[…] cause a government authority did n[…] pay its bills."

The service is available not only […] the 40,000 member companies of the f[…] deration but to all firms employing […] to 500 people.

Horst Zimmerma[…]

(Bremer Nachrichten, 14 September 19[…])

Salary freeze called for

Wages should not be increased ne[…] year and civil service salari[…] should be frozen, says the Kiel Instit[…] for the World Economy.

It makes the recommendation in […] latest report. If the economic policy m[…] kers don't come up with some ideas, […] warns, the recession might become d[…] pression.

In any case, it does not expect […] economic decline to bottom out befo[…] next year.

It sees a marked change of mood a[…] the danger that dashed hopes for […] upswing, inadequate profits and t[…] high wages will lead to large-scale d[…] faults on loans. This could lead to liq[…] dity bottlenecks.

The institute regards the biggest da[…] ger as uncertainty because that sto[…] people from investing and buying.

But the institute also sees a grow[…] realisation that new state borrow[…] must be accepted. But this must […] hand-in-hand with the removal of r[…] tape if it is to stimulate investment.

Though providing no figures, the i[…] stitute predicts that the bottleneck w[…] last longer than originally assumed.

Following a decline in growth […] year, there will at best be a "modera[…] improvement in 1983 — provided the[…] are no panic reactions.

Unemployment in 1983 will be m[…] kedly above two million and the infl[…] tion rate will continue to decline.

The institute recommends zero wa[…] increases. It suggests that civil servi[…] salaries be frozen.

Peter Gillies

(Die Welt, 17 September 19[…])

THE MOTOR INDUSTRY

Something for everyone at motorcycle exhibition

[…]he 15th International Bicycle and […]Motorcycle Fair in Cologne can […] claim to have been the world's […]st two-wheeler show.

[…]ere were 1,234 exhibitors from 37 […]tries and they displayed their range […]ods for bikes and biking in three […] at the cathedral city's exhibition […]re.

[…]ly headed the list of foreign exhi[…]s, with 237, followed by France, […]and Japan, 77.

[…]st manufacturers, 236, concentrat[…] on the bicycle and cycling. Only 106 […] exclusively with the motorbike. […] motorcycles held pride of place, at […] on days when the exhibition was […] to the general public.

[…]otorbike fans from all over Europe […]rged on Cologne, and although […]wheeler sales are showing signs of […] the fair organisers felt confident […]dance would break all records.

[…]nda, the market leader, has a num[…] of new ideas for 1983 even though […] new models were unveiled as recent[…] as last spring.

[…]ere were eight new models, or mo[…] with major changes, on show in […]ogne. The four-cylinder engine of […] CB 1100 F has been increased in ca[…]city from 900 to 1,062cc.

[…]he new model is based on the frame […] the 900 F, with changes to the steer[…] head. Its 100hp engine is rubber-[…]nted and a dual anti-dive system is said to relieve one of the major problems of emergency braking.

The liquid-cooled VF 750 F has sold well this year in a chopper version. Honda are now putting a sports casing round the ninety-degree four-stroke engine, which develops 86 horse power.

Honda say it is a lightweight sports model that has the good looks of a road racer.

The CX 500 Turbo, in contrast, has been discontinued, which was high time. It was a sensation at the last Cologne fair two years ago but failed to live up to expectations on the road.

Its place has been taken by the CX 650 Turbo, which is claimed to do the job much more effectively.

The VT 500 E is undoubtedly the most interesting newcomer to the range. It has a liquid-cooled two-cylinder engine mounted at an angle of 52 degrees.

The engine has a sleek and slender look, the bike weighs 180kg (396lb) and develops 50 DIN horse power.

In the 80cc range a chopper version is to plug the last remaining gap, while the PXL 50 is a distinctively styled moped, of which the Camino C will be the chopper version.

Kawasaki plans to make headway in the enduro market with the KL 500, unveiled for the first time in Cologne. It has a 560cc water-cooled engine developing 50 horse power and disc brakes in front for safety's sake.

The GPZ range has been extended, with five models being for the most part given a new look.

Versions are available from 250cc to 1,100cc, while the 750cc model packs more punch at 85 horse power.

Suzuki are determined to retain their appeal for sports-minded bikers. The main features of the new GSX 550 E are its rectangular tube frame, its new four-valve engine and twin carbs.

It weighs 185kg (407lb) and develops 62 horse power at 9,500rpm.

The new GR 650 is a lightweight two-cylinder model, a tourer with no frills. A flywheel that decouples as the rev count increases ensures smooth running in low revs.

BMW had nothing much that was new to offer this year. The four-cylinder engine was not yet available, so the only innovations on show in Cologne were the R 80 ST and the R 80 RT.

Both are based on the successful R 80 G/S. The RT is designed to appeal to the tourer who attaches importance to comfort over long distances.

Yamaha had six new models at Cologne, and it was worth noting that the first newcomer was a neat scooter, not a big, heavy bike.

Yamaha have not fared too well in the chopper market, which is probably why the big vee engines are back. The XV 1000 SE is called the Midnight Special.

It is all in black and a super-bike for effortless, power-packing choppering or touring.

The two-cylinder XZ 550 with its water-cooled vee engine was launched early this year. At Cologne Yamaha sought to give it a more attractive look with the casing of the XJ 650 Turbo.

Yamaha now join other manufacturers with a model designed to appeal to uncompromisingly sports-minded bikers.

In the wake of the 250cc and 350cc RD models the RD 350 LC, complete with power valve, develops 50 horse power from a liquid-cooled, two-cylinder two-stroke engine.

It is an unusual bike incorporating a great deal of racing technology and it is streets ahead of much more powerful competitors in performance.

Yamaha have been a little late to introduce a 900cc model to compete with those that have sold so well for other manufacturers.

It is the XJ 900, which gets 97 horse power out of its engine at 9,000rpm.

The Harley Davidson XLX is intended as a basic model for beginners to get started on. It is an economy model with only the absolute minimum as standard fittings.

Even the seat for both rider and pillion passenger is an optional extra and available, but only at a price.

There are three additions to the Vespa scooter range. One is the PK 80 S, smaller in dimensions than its predecessor. It comes with an optional electric starter.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 September 1982)

Will Rabbit run under new American VW ad campaign?

[…]sgezeichnet means excellent. It's a […]tongue-twister for most Americans. […]t's why Doyle Dane Bernbach, the […] York advertising agency, feel it's […]ight for the latest Volkswagen ad[…]sing campaign in the United States.

[…]W of America have decided the […] has come to go German again. […] are the days when Volkswagen […]ll-page ads proclaiming they were […] of the US auto industry now the […]t was running off Pennsylvania […]bly lines.

[…]lkswagen's marketing division […]d soonest revamp the image of the […] era, when US advertising put ac[…] the German connection by featur[…] Hansel and Gretel in the Black For[…]

[…]W of America are stressing the Ger[…] engineering and the German tradi[…] of its cars, and the TV advertising […]paign that will shortly be aimed at […] viewers emphasises the German […]ection.

[…]ne TV commercial a helmeted […]river at the wheel of a Volkswagen […]o is seen haring round hairpin […] somewhere in Germany.

[…] the car has ground to a halt he […] back the visor of his helmet and […]: "Ausgezeichnet!"

[…]th such references to Teutonic ori[…] VW hope to stem the tide of a ca[…]phic decline in US sales and to get […] of 1983 models off to a good start.

[…]d Hahn, managing director of the […] company, is flying from Germa[…] California to present new models […] American Press on 19 October.

[…]y will be a sports model of the […] comparable with the Golf GTI […]many, the new Scirocco and the turbo-engined Quantum, marketed in Germany as the Santana.

DIE ZEIT

Solving problems in the US market is the first major assignment Hahn must handle at the helm of VW, with Volkswagen sales in the States 40 per cent down on last year.

Only about 100,000 VW Rabbits made in New Stanton, Pennsylvania, are likely to find buyers this year. The facility's annual capacity is up to 280,000 units.

To clear the stockpiles a little, VW of America's James McLernon has ordered two weeks to be added to the six-week manufacturing break.

When production gets under way again the assembly line will, moreover, run 10 per cent slower than before the summer holidays.

The drastic decline in US sales came for Volkswagen like a bolt out of the slightly overcast but still predominantly blue sky.

Sales by other US manufacturers have been in the doldrums for three years, but until early this year VW have fared well.

Marketing director James R. Fuller has three explanations at the ready to account for this turn for the worse:

- US car-buyers are less interested in low fuel consumption;
- economic circumstances in general are unsatisfactory;
- and Volkswagen's marketing has lost its sense of direction to some extent.

Now that fuel prices in the United States have stabilised and fears of supply bottlenecks and sky-high prices have been allayed, Americans are opting for models of car that are a size larger.

Economy champions like the VW Rabbit have lost much of their attraction. Interest has vanished almost overnight in the diesel engine, which not long ago seemed to be the shape of things to come.

This is partly because diesel is no longer 12 cents cheaper than conventional fuel; it is 10 cents dearer than gasoline.

Volkswagen have been particularly hard hit because last year seven out of 10 cars run off the Pennsylvania assembly lines were diesel-engined.

Over the past few months diesel Rabbits have made up only 30 per cent of sales, so this setback has put Volkswagen out into the cold of competition after relying on a specific market.

This year only an estimated eight million cars will sell in the US market, including imports, whereas American manufacturers have a capacity of between 12 and 13 million.

Among compacts in particular, competition is increasingly via price cuts. General Motors have announced cuts of between $250 and $1,500 for 1983 models.

Last spring Volkswagen too slashed the price of the Rabbit by $300, but the company has come to realise that VW is likely to lose a straightforward price war.

Instead, says Mr Fuller, Volkswagen are to go in for disciplined, consistent image advertising designed to convey the impression that VWs are performance cars based on German engineering.

Porsche and Audi have been relying on a similar marketing concept since the beginning of this year.

Audi advertising has for the most part been limited to the idea of the Audi as a Bavarian de luxe limousine, with Neuschwanstein Castle in the background.

Since the campaign began, says Mr Fuller, Audi as a make of car has grown 40 per cent better known.

But astute advertising alone is not going to solve Volkswagen's problems in American. Maryann Keller, who analyses the US auto market for Paine Webber, the investment brokers, feels American buyers look on the Rabbit as being outdated.

So what is needed, she says, is a new or changed product. At Volkswagen of America no-one is yet prepared to say whether this idea is particularly *ausgezeichnet*.

Jes Rau

(Die Zeit, 24 September 1982)

■ POLITICAL BOOKS

American holds up a mirror for the Germans

At a time when ties between Americans and Germans are clouded, a book by an American writer has been published in the Federal Republic of Germany that outlines to German readers reasons that lie deeper than differences of opinion on the pipeline embargo and steel exports.

Gordon A. Craig is an American of Scottish extraction who for decades has dealt in depth with the Germans and their history.

He has taught history at Stanford, California, served as a visiting professor at the Free University in West Berlin and is the author of books that include the highly regarded German History 1866—1945.

Professor Craig has now summarised his findings on Germany in a book published last year in the United States and now in Germany as *Über die Deutschen. Ein historisches Porträt.*

It is a collection of essays divided into three sections, the first of which is an introduction to the problems and includes titles such as Historical Perspectives, Politics in New Directions and Hitler and the New Generation.

The second section, Change and Continuity, deals with individual issues, such as religion, money, women, university students and staff, Romanticism and the military.

Its aim is to demonstrate that in everything new since 1945 the old, born and articulated in the past, has continued more or less to wield an effect.

In the third section Professor Craig tries to answer the question: how firm is the groundwork in which German democracy is laid?

It is a kind of mirror held up to us *Germans by a US historian conversant* with us and well disposed toward us, a book that shows us who we really are, basing its inferences on our origins, and trying to sound out where we are heading. It has taken an American to deduce *our current condition from our history,* just as Professor Craig regrets the continued ahistorical tendency in Germany.

There may have been a few refreshing exceptions to the rule recently, but by and large the ahistorical trend has failed to produce a book to rival this one for academic detail, literary standing and sheer readability.

The prevailing view, at least in German university circles, is, as Professor Craig notes, that a book which can be read without difficulty cannot be taken seriously.

His book about the Germans is written mainly with Americans in mind. That explains why it is written for an initial reading public who cannot be expected to know too much about Germany, especially its history.

Since this is no less true of many Germans there is every reason why it should appeal to Germans readers too.

He seeks in particular to answer questions increasingly asked by Ameri*cans about the Germans, their allies,* and he notes that "since the end of the Adenauer era, a period in which democracy in the Federal Republic of Germany seemed to have been established and consolidated on firm *foundations" new trends calling to mind* the past have arisen.

This is a turn of events more and more Germans have noted with anxiety. They will read with interest the answers Craig provides primarily for his fellow-countrymen.

Most Germans are still in favour of the alliance with the West and keen to see it continue, so they cannot be indifferent as to what our major allies think about us.

It is not just a matter of military arrangements and economic cooperation but also, and primarily, one of basic political views being attuned to each other.

The post-war decision to side with the West was fundamentally linked, as Craig impressively shows, with the commitment to democratic ideas and the adoption of parliamentary institutions.

Gordon A. Craig, *Über die Deutschen. Ein historisches Porträt,* translated by Herman Stiehl, published by C. H. Beck, Munich, 392pp, DM34.

Parliamentary democracy was impressively endorsed in 1848/49 but failed to take root in the Prussian Reich, while Western democracy soon came to grief in the Weimar Republic.

It did so because German tradition, a term that may be preferred to the German inheritance or patrimony, regained the upper hand.

Will Bonn revert to Weimar? Professor Craig hopes not, but he does not rule out the possibility. Intellectual and political behaviour patterns of the past have put in a fresh appearance of late.

It is not just a matter of conventional German susceptibility to the East, felt nowadays by socialist wheeler-dealers rather than national bolshevists or Prussian militarists.

It is mainly, as Craig argues, the old contrast between the German Romantic movement and the Western Enlighten*ment that in one version after another* constantly reopardises Germany's relationship with the West and thereby endangers democracy in Germany.

He recalls in connection with the student movement the activities of the *Nazi student league in the dying days* of the Weimar Republic.

In the current protest and dropout movement he sees the old flight from reality, the old contempt for common sense.

It is a stimulating book and sounds a warning note that has come at the right time. One could but wish that the Germans, especially young Germans, heeded Professor Craig's warnings in time.

Franz Herre

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 3 September 1982)

Continued from page 2

generation of US missiles to be deployed in Europe.

Kremlin support for the SPD, including steering clear of all steps that might have upgraded CDU/CSU politicians, has ruled out any exchange of views with the Bonn Opposition.

Opposition leaders such as Herr Strauss, who has a number of qualities that are highly rated by Mr Brezhnev and his aides, have sought in vain to be invited to Moscow.

In the wake of communications difficulties with Washington, London and Paris, Moscow now runs the risk of forfeiting an opposite number in Bonn with whom it has been able to talk.

Soviet leaders are not sure of CDU leader Helmut Kohl's political standing.

Alois Mertes, CDU/CSU Bundestag spokesman on foreign affairs, was, in his days as a diplomat, declared persona non grata at the German embassy in Moscow.

He points out that the CDU/CSU, far from overlooking the leading role played by the Soviet Union, never disregarded it in the days when it was in power in Bonn.

Herr Mertes refers to the establishment of diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union and Chancellor Adenauer's 1955 visit to Moscow.

He mentions the first bilateral treaties with the Kremlin in 1958/59, which dealt with economic and cultural cooperation, and the repatriation of ethnic Germans from the Soviet Union.

He also notes that it was a CDU/CSU-led Bonn government that offered to sign a treaty renouncing the use of force with the USSR after the 1962 Cuban crisis.

Contrary to trenchant criticism in the past, the Christian Democrats now take a more positive view of Bonn's treaties with the East bloc countries in the 1970s.

So Herr Kohl's *Ostpolitik,* whi[...] might be slightly different in perso[...] style, is unlikely to differ substanti[...] from his predecessor's because there [...] very little leeway.

Times have changed, illusions h[...] been dashed. Limits to what migh[...] held in in common have been hi[...] lighted by Soviet foreign policy in A[...] hanistan and Poland.

Liberalisation within the East bloc [...] hoped for by many after the Hel[...] accords, has failed to materialise.

It looks very much as though M[...] cow is growing readier to tighten [...] reins at home now enthusiasm [...] *Westpolitik* is on the decline.

Soviet policymakers have reached [...] conclusion that their partners in [...] West no longer want a dialogue. Bu[...] Russians have always understood p[...] speaking, polemics apart.

Peter Sei[...]

(Kieler Nachrichten, 24 Septembe[...])

Essay collection speculates on German reunification

German unity is an issue of continual humanitarian, intellectual and cultural concern. It is also the long-term objective of all responsible policy in the Federal Republic of Germany.

It may well not be achieved this century, so the title of Wolfgang Venohr's latest book, German Unity Will come For Sure, sounds unlikely.

The book is a collection of eight essays. In his preface, Venohr enlarges on his axiomatic title:

"It will either come by way of a military catastrophe, in which case German reunification will take place in a mass grave.

"Or it will come as a political solution, in which case German unity will prove the sole effective guarantee of peace in Europe."

This comment fairly reflects the views outlined in the book as a whole.

All authors other than Franz Herre, the historian, who deals with Franco-German ties, see blocs as being abolished and imperialist tutelage coming to an end in both East and West.

*An intra-German confederation is en*visaged as emerging from a new synthesis of conservative nation-state views and Marxist progression.

A misinterpretation of the February 1945 Yalta conference lays the groundwork for various errors of perspective and an equidistance that fails to do justice to the clash between Western democracy and Communist ideology.

There was no such thing as a Yalta system that laid down the division of Germany and was to form the basis of a European balance of power.

Yalta was merely a vain bid by the Western Allies to salvage beyond the imminent end of the war the cooperation with the Soviet Union that was forced on them by Hitler's policies.

It is understandable that the historian Hellmut Diwald chose to contribute toward the compendium. Among German historians it was he who first voiced the view that Yalta lay at the root of all evil.

That is certainly the view he espoused in his History of the Germans. He complains that the Allies in 1945 dug deep into the consciousness of the defeated Germans.

He forgets to mention how their consciousness had previously been marked by Hitler.

It is no surprise that Peter Brand[...] Herbert Ammon, both socialist au[...] see a prospect of ending the arbitr[...] laid-down territorial division of [...] German people and thereby safeg[...] ing peace in Europe.

They say the "positive misinterp[...] tion of purportedly peace-lving an[...] beral US imperialism" by the Social [...] mocrats can look back on a long hi[...] ry.

More surprisingly than such a [...] point expressed by left-wingers, Ha[...] Rüddenklau, a *Deutschlandpoliti[...]* search worker for the CDU/CSU [...] destag group, claims in his article [...] Konrad Adenauer never regarded G[...] man unity and freedom as priority [...] gets.

One is more tempted to believe W[...] gang Seiffert, a former GDR don [...] *now lives and works in the Federal* [...] public of Germany.

Wolfgang Venohr, *Die deutsche Ein[...] kommt bestimmt* (German Unity Will Co[...] For Sure), published by Gustav Lübbe V[...] lag, Bergisch Gladbach 1981, 192pp, DM2[...]

Professor Seiffert sees a possibility [...] the inner dynamic of the GDR wi[...] the framework of overall Soviet stra[...] one day leading to a forward app[...] on national strategy.

His outline of the GDR Commu[...] mentality is one of the more readi[...] parts of the book.

To sum up the collection one mi[...] perhaps quote Theodor Schweisf[...] who writes that: "Anyone who wants [...] end the division of Germany today m[...] do so with an easy anti-fas[...] conscience."

The only contributor who might [...] said to contrast with this view is He[...] L. Wuermeling, who asks: "Which G[...] man do you mean, please?"

"Before national unity comes," [...] warns, "we ought to devote though[...] what benefit it might be expected [...] bring us." He is absolutely right on [...] point.

Franz Herre quotes in his essay H[...] polyte Taine, writing in 1869: "The G[...] man forms himself and changes his c[...] racter." It is now 1982 but Taine's c[...] ment still hold good.

Gerd Ress[...]

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und W[...] 6 August [...])

AEROSPACE

Faulty turbine blamed as European rocket plunges into the sea

Frankfurter Rundschau

[...]he third stage of Europe's Ariane [...]auncher rocket lies on the seabed [...]t three miles deep 625 miles off the [...] of West Africa.

[...]ith it are Marecs B and Sirio 2, the [...]satellites that were its payload, and [...]kely cause of failure, a faulty turbi[...]ompressor unit.

[...]here it lies, tantalisingly inaccessible [...]e commission of inquiry, the se[...] Ariane to misfire and be aborted. [...] first failure was in May 1980.

[...]t is a serious setback and a blow to [...]elf-confidence of European rocket [...]ders. It could hardly have come at a [...] time.

[...]riane's test phase was over and the [...]ket had been declared serviceable. [...] increasing number of potential customers were showing interest in it.

[...]t looked like emerging as a serious [...]petitor to the US Space Shuttle. But [...] latest mishap has brought the Euro[...] Space Agency back down to earth [...] a bump.

[...]he fifth *Ariane rocket was to have* [...] its two missiles, a maritime emer[...]y communications satellite and an [...]an comsat, into orbit from Kourou, [...]ch Guiana, last April.

[...]t the launching was delayed be[...] Marecs B was returned to the ma[...]facturers for technical alterations. [...] rocket stayed where it was on the [...]nching pad in tropical Guiana.

[...]he hot and humid climate at Kou[...] may have damaged Ariane, but no[...] knows for sure.

[...]he first and second stages function[...] without hitches, and about five [...]utes after blast-off, at an altitude [...] roughly 85 miles, the third and final [...] was ignited.

[...]t was due to burn for about nine [...]utes, but after 4 minutes 23 seconds [...] third stage no longer worked ac[...]ding to plan.

[...]he rev count of the turbine compres[...] unit that conveyed liquid hydrogen [...] the rocket's engine declined rapidly [...] pressure in the engine chamber [...]mmeted to zero, flight engineers [...] with dismay on their monitor [...]eens.

Extreme strain

[...]ince all other third stage measure[...]ents, especially fuel tank pressure, [...] normal, Esa experts assume that [...] failure of the turbine compressor [...] was to blame for the mishap.

[...]or the time being there is not much [...] they can say on the subject.

[...]inor technical hitches have occur[...]d in the past in connection with the [...]pressor unit, but they were all [...]ed. The pump, which costs [...]750,000, is subjected to extreme [...]n during the rocket's third stage.

[...]t rotates at a speed of 61,000 rpm as [...] pumps fuel into the engine chamber.

[...]sa has postponed until next January [...] the earliest the next Ariane launch[...] which was due to have been on 23 [...]vember.

[...]ut the exact date will depend on the [...]dings of the inquiry.

[...]he next *Ariane, the sixth, was to put* [...]osat, the X-ray research satellite, into [...]bit. It mission will be to locate and identify in shape and spectral make-up *X-ray radiation in outer space.*

But in the event of delay Exosat may not be put into orbit by Ariane. The satellite's window on the sky shuts in January, and if it is not launched by January the blast-off will have to be postponed for months.

If there is no longer enough time to launch Exosat Esa will probably bring forward the launching of the ECS comsat.

The major payload in the cone of the Ariane that plunged to the bed of the Atlantic was Marecs B. It was to hover over the Pacific and serve as a relay link between ships at sea and coastal stations.

The satellite was built by Esa and would, if everything had gone according to schedule, have been leased to Inmarsat, the international maritime satellite organisation.

Inmarsat is an international consortium to which 37 countries at present belong. Its aim is to set up and run a maritime telecom network spanning the entire world.

Since Inmarsat planned only to lease Marecs B, Esa must now shoulder the loss on its own, although the satellite was insured for $20m.

In international maritime telecommunications, Inmarsat says, there will be no interruptions or restrictions despite the setback. The organisation still has four satellites in operation.

The Italians, who built Sirio 2, must be far more disappointed than Inmarsat. Sirio 1 was the first Italian comsat. It was launched on board an American rocket in 1977.

As the programme went ahead without a hitch the second, replacement satellite was not needed. So the Italian space agency decided to allow it to be used for scientific and technological experiments.

Sirio 2 was to be used to relay meteorological data to remote areas of Africa and for experiments with lasers.

The technical and *organisational* problems created by the Ariane setback may well prove less serious than the loss of prestige.

Many customers who were thinking of using the European launcher rocket *to put their satellites into orbit may now* have doubts about Ariane's reliability and think again.

A marketing company, Arianespace, was set up in 1979 to sell payload capacity. Shares in the company are held by *firms involved in building the rocket,* banks in 11 Esa countries and CNES, the French space research association.

Starting next year Arianespace is to take over the construction and launching of rockets. It has already lined up a fair number of customers: firm orders for 24 satellites and options for a further 12.

As Ariane had performed so well the management were expecting to do good business in the second half of this decade.

Between 1985 and 1991 an estimated 250 satellites will need launching in the West, and Arianespace hopes to corner between 20 and 30 per cent of the market, or between 60 and 70 satellites to be launched by Ariane over a period of seven years.

That would make Ariane a serious competitor indeed for the American Space Shuttle.

It is hard to say as yet whether the second Ariane flop on 10 September has seriously shaken confidence in the rocket.

Huge investment

The project will be delayed but definitely neither called into question nor abandoned. Too much cash and other commitments have been invested in Ariane for the rocket to be shelved.

European manufacturers in general and French aerospace companies in particular are heavily committed to the project.

Besides, despite the Space Shuttle's advantage of being reusable there is still a demand for the old-style no deposit, no return technology.

This is a share of the market in which Europe at present is very much on its own.

Wolfgang Brauer

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 September 1982)

German chosen for Nasa space probe

Ulf Merbold, 41, will in September next year become the first West German astronaut. He will spend a week orbiting the earth on board the Challenger together with five Nasa astronauts.

He was delighted to learn, after four years' training, that he had finally been selected.

It all began with a newspaper advert for trainee astronauts as part of the European Spacelab programme. Merbold, a physicist, was one of nearly 2,000 others who answered.

He, Claude Nicollier of Switzerland and Wubbo Ockels of Holland were shortlisted and accepted by Nasa as potential astronauts.

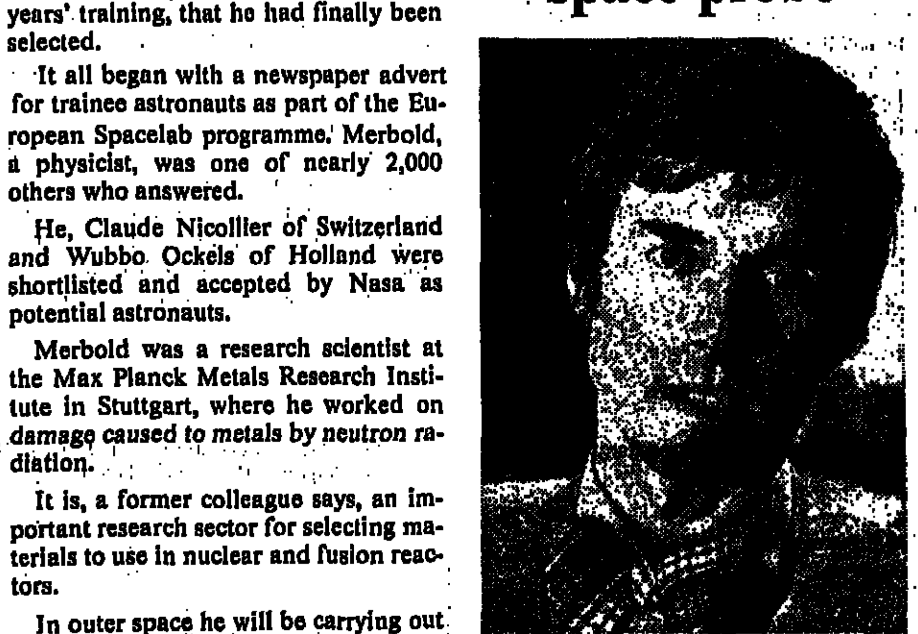
Merbold was a research scientist at the Max Planck Metals Research Institute in Stuttgart, where he worked on *damage caused to metals by neutron radiation.*

It is, a former colleague says, an important research sector for selecting materials to use in nuclear and fusion reactors.

In outer space he will be carrying out entirely different experiments as a payload specialist on Spacelab's maiden mission.

Spacelab, built in Bremen, is designed strictly for scientific and technological research. Over 50 research scientists in various disciplines have proposed experiments that might be carried out in space.

Merbold and a US astronaut will be the laboratory assistants engaged in all these scientific experiments in outer space. He will maintain constant radio contact with scientists at the ground stations.



Ulf Merbold ... his mother says everything will be all right. (Photo: dpa)

Experiments on the first Spacelab mission will concentrate on the biological sciences and on process engineering.

Merbold's work will range from measuring the blood pressure of his colleagues and taking blood samples from his fellow-astronauts to hard-soldering metals.

Spacelab has cost European taxpayers nearly DM2bn. Scientists hope experiments on board will tell them more about the effect of zero gravity on living beings.

On the industrial side, new microelectronics and metallurgical techniques are to be put through their paces in outer space.

Merbold, his wife Birgit and their two children, a three-year-old son and a *seven-year-old daughter, at the moment* live in the United States.

He feels his work in space is a major challenge. "The Spacelab mission," he says, "is a unique opportunity for me to gain access to other specialised fields of research."

He will shortly be returning to Cologne where he and his fellow-astronauts will undergo a four-week training programme at the Aerospace Research Institute. It will then be straight back to America.

At his old research lab in Stuttgart the news that Merbold, a keen glider pilot, had been selected was welcomed enthusiastically.

A spokesman for the Max Planck institute said he could come back any time. His job would still be his for the asking.

Will he be going back to Stuttgart after a week in outer space? He doesn't know.

His first thought is how he relishes the prospect of experiencing weightlessness personally. He is not in the least worried.

His mother, Hilde, is confident too. "It will all be all right," she feels. "Everything has gone ahead according *to plan so far.*"

Horst Rademacher

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 22 September 1982)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

The sun: not all that shines is energy

Energy, especially solar energy, was a burning issue at the 112th annual gathering of a scientific society in Mannheim.

The energy the sun releases into space is immeasurable, the Association of German Naturalists and Doctors was told, and only a fraction reaches the surface of the Earth.

If we could only harness solar power our future energy problems would be no trouble, Professor Günther Lehnert of Stuttgart told the conference.

There had been no lack of attempts in recent years, but initial optimism had long been dispelled.

We mut not be misled by the illusion that solar power might, in the short term, prove a simple and inexpensive solution to the world's energy problems.

Energy supplies were dealt with in detail at Mannheim. Coal, oil and natural gas cannot last for ever, although no-one can say how long it will be before reserves are exhausted.

It may be another 50, 100 or 200 years, but since economic development relies on adequate energy supplies, precautions must already be taken.

It is high time we began looking for new ways of meeting energy requirements and exploiting fresh sources of high-grade energy.

There were three options, said Professor Werner Martienssen of Frankfurt: nuclear fission, conversion of solar energy and nuclear fusion.

The state of developments in each of these three varied widely. "You can buy a light-water reactor on the open market," he said. Reactor safety was what currently preoccupied engineers and the general public.

In a lecture on the uses of atomic energy in the light of the latest technical developments Professor Wolfgang Klose of Karlsruhe referred to anxiety and fears still felt by many members of the general public.

But the subject was so complicated, he said, that people were unable to reach judgments of their own.

"No-one really appreciates that the combined experience of all commercial reactors run around the world amounts to over 2,000 years of accident-free operation."

US and German surveys on reactor safety provided a scientific assessment, he said, but because they relied on the law of probability they did little to end uncertainty.

Experts owed their detailed knowledge to large-scale experiments designed mainly to demonstrate techical processes. The public must be allowed to follow their progress too.

"You need to develop a feeling for nuclear technology and the only way to do so is via a demonstration of the processes about which the greatest anxiety is felt."

Latest risk research findings showed that current safety precautions were much more comprehensive than they were felt to be, say, five years ago.

But all possible scientific and technological efforts must continue to be undertaken to ensure that nuclear power stations could be run without endangering the general public.

Given the emotion-laden way in which the debate had been conducted it was obvious that not everyone would agree with this optimistic assessment of the risk factor.

In harnessing solar energy the scientific and technological problems occur at an entirely different level. The physical principles are clear but the technology has yet to be developed on a large scale and techniques are not yet economic.

According to Professor Lehnert there are many ways of directly or indirectly harnessing sunlight. What matters is to improve them and make them competitive with conventional energy.

"Some risks will be run," he said. "Some always are in research and technical development. The future importance of solar power cannot be forecast with certainty.

"At present short-term promises frequently made in recent years, promises that have cused much confusion, are just as ill-founded as out-of-hand rejection of solar technology."

Nuclear fusion is a distant prospect. It means doing on a small scale what happens in the Sun, but it has yet to be proved that controlled nuclear fusion can in fact be harnessed to generate power economically.

Professor Klaus Pinkau of Munich said fusion research ought to be embarking on a new stage, that of financing and carrying out a serious nuclear fusion programme.

"Whether fusion in a reactor core can ever play a meaningful part in generating electric power will depend on whether new technical concepts and new materials ensure a sufficiently long lifespan of components," he said.

So energy supplies for the future pose a wide range of present scientific and technological problems that will doubtless one day be solved.

It is impossible to say at this stage which energy alternative will prevail, and the aim of the Mannheim conference was not "to emotionally champion one concept or the other."

The aim, said Professor Martienssen, was "to review the current state of developments, to outline the prospects that are already apparent and to provide information on the risks we may run."

Konrad Müller-Christiansen

(Mannheimer Morgen, 21 September 1982)

■ AGRICULTURE

Adjust, marke[t] gardeners are warned

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Market gardening, delegates to [the] 21st international horticu[ltural] congress in Hamburg were told, [must] take environmental and energy-[...] considerations more seriously.

Congress spokesman Werner Ro[...] burg and Swedish economist Ma[...] Carlsson reviewed findings at the [...] of five days of deliberations by 1[...] experts from 77 countries.

The experts had agreed, they s[aid,] that market gardeners would have to [be] more cautious and economic in th[e] use of the means of plant production.

These were the soil, water, air [and] energy, and as Mr Carlsson noted, en[vi]ronmental and health food requi[re]ments called for fewer chemicals to [be] used.

This was something consumers de[fi]nitely wanted. They were more hea[lth-] conscious and called for a return [to] horticultural traditions.

Pesticides and other chemical a[...] could not, of course, be dispensed w[ith] entirely.

Energy costs in market gardening [had] more than trebled since 1973, wh[ich] was an enormous burden on grow[ers of] plants and vegetables under glass.

New energy- and labour-sav[ing] greenhouses needed developing, [and] energy-saving varieties ought to be e[m]phasised in breeding.

A variety of greenhouse tomato h[ad] been developed that ripened with m[uch] less energy than was needed to ma[ture] conventional strains.

Genetic engineering was given m[...] attention at the conference, Herr R[o]thenburg said, the main aim being [to] breed tougher plants and, say, trees th[at] were less susceptible to toxins.

The importance of herbs was stre[ss]ed, with reference to attempts in Ba[va]ria to breed the gentian, a listed pl[ant,] the bitters of which are highly valu[ed] for their medicinal effect.

dp[a]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 14 Septembe[r 1982])

THE CINEMA

Fassbinder's last act: in tune with Genet

[Fa]ssbinder's 41st and final film can [b]est be compared with the last part [of] his serialised version of *Berlin [Alex]anderplatz*, Alfred Döblin's 1920s [stream]-of-consciousness novel about [the li]fe of a Berlin workman.

[It] is based on Jean Genet's *Querelle [de Br]est*, written in a French jail in [...] and there can be no doubt Fass[binde]r feels very much attuned to Ge[net']s novel.

[Ye]t it seems fairly certain that the [idea] of filming Genet's novel was not [his ow]n. It first occurred to Dieter Schi[dor, t]he actor and producer.

[Qu]erelle, which is now Fassbinder's [last] will and testament, is a radical re[turn] to his vision of life and love, [friend]ship and sexuality, art and des[pera]tion.

[Hu]mility is arrogance unless it is the [resul]t of humiliation, we are told in one [of th]e many texts quoted in the film or [displaye]d on the screen, not all of which [are t]aken from Genet's novel.

[O]ther central topics of the film are [guil]ty and salvation. Fassbinder and [Gene]t only experience the nearness of [God] once they have gone through the [...] of all worldly emotions and perver[sion]s.

[T]hey only teach God once they have [...] everything that could prevent them [fro]m being pure. Salvation is only at[tain]ed by those who have reached this [stat]e of purity.

[It] is gained only by those who have [bor]ne their own cross, Fassbinder says, [...]ing with the presumption of de[...]r in a crucial scene the calvary of [Chr]ist. The question of guilt does not [...].

[Q]uerelle the sailor, played by Brad [Dav]is, is an opium dealer. He kills his [acco]mplice, Dieter Schidor, in passing, [...] were, and gives himself to a brothel [kee]per, Günther Kaufmann, and his [wife], Jeanne Moreau.

[H]e betrays his best friend and his [bro]ther, played by Hanno Pöschl in a [fasc]inating, crucial dual role.

[H]e plays with the police, played by [Bur]khard Driest as a two-faced leather [...]ster, and finally settles under the [win]gs of a man who has followed the [pro]gress of his stay ashore with covert [...], Lieutenant Seblon, played by [Fr]anco Nero.

Does Fassbinder's Querelle at the end of his infernal adventure ashore finally attain true humility? Has he purified himself of his mortal passions by practising them? Is he now capable of a clarified relationship in a state of salvation as embodied by Seblon in a divine manner? Or must the film be interpreted as a crypto-fascist glorification of violence, perversion and bombastic masculine mystique?

In *Querelle* Fassbinder films with provocative, matter-of-fact frankness homosexuality, shows us in longing close-ups the tenderness of male gestures and has sailors' bodies gleam seductively.

He leaves us in no doubt that he sees the life that takes shape in and around Querelle as real life. It is a life between heaven and hell, a hell-fire of friendship and betrayal, tenderness and brutality, egoism and self-abandonment, greatness and baseness, pain and beauty. It is a life of extroverted emotions such as may motivate many people between birth and death, regardless whether or not they are prepared to admit the fact to themselves.

In describing this life of excess Fassbinder was able to refer in sound and imagery to Genet's *Querelle de Brest*, yet *Querelle* was one of his most personal films.

This may be because Fassbinder in his last film was able to put more of himself into the subject, without surrendering himself to voyeurs, than in a tale of his own telling.

Does *Querelle* owe its claim to be a work of art to Fassbinder's death or does it stand up on its own?

It is probably his most intimate and most radical, most vulgar and most sensitive film, and arguably his finest. It is a gloomily glowing studio panorama of life-and-death hopes and fears.

Eckart Schmidt

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 12 September 1982)



Extroverted emotions and sailors' bodies . . . 'Querelle de Brest.' (Photo: Scotia)

The tale of a migrant family that is here to stay

Angelo, a 10-year-old Italian boy who lives in Fürth, Bavaria, is basically satisfied with his lot. He goes to a German school, has plenty of friends, and wants to be a teacher.

But there is one problem, words like "*Kanaker, Ausländer, questi*," he explains: "Wops, foreigners, words like that."

He is absolutely right. *Ausländer*, or foreigner, is a word that has decidedly alarming negative undertones in Germany today.

Angelo is one of eight children in the Villano family we meet in Hans Andreas Guttner's documentary film *Familie Villano kehrt nicht zurück* (The Villano Family are not Going Back).

Guttner's aim is to give the lie to a widespread feeling held by many Germans that forms the basis of government policy.

It is that the Federal Republic of Germany is not a country for immigrants.

The fact is, though, that many migrant workers and their families have decided to stay in Germany.

The Villanos in Fürth, for instance, come from near Naples and live in a much too small three-room apartment. It is dark and badly in need of repair. But it looks like they are here to stay.



...yre in Germany to stay . . . Angelo and his mother and father. (Photo: Verleihgenossenschaft der Filmemacher)

The film explains how they arrived at their decision. It shows what problems they have to cope with and what it means to live for good among Germans as a foreigner, living, working, learning and growing up. It contains a wealth of observations circumspectly and patiently made, without over-insistent queries that force the family to make unnecessary admissions and without pointing an accusing, didactic finger. It is left to the viewer to put two and two together. Guttner has patently restrained his journalistic impulse to tell the tale as dramatically as possible. The camera is sufficiently effective.

The director relies on intensity of observation. His film is an unobtrusive tale of an individual family, showing us the various members, with their different traits. It is also a typical tale in many respects.

Giuseppe Villano, the father, has made several attempts to return to Italy but never succeeded in finding work, so he eventually decided to stay in Germany.

He sent for the family and resolved to make the best of it whatever problems might arise. The most pressing problem is accommodation.

It is virtually impossible to find a home for a family of 10, let alone foreigners, and certainly not at a rent they can afford.

Then there is the problem of education and career training. The older children have no hope of finding an apprenticeship in Germany without a school-leaving certificate.

The outlook for the younger children is uncertain, and the family constantly complain about the narrow-minded hostility they encounter in their surroundings.

What a contrast it is in comparison with the high esteem in which they are held in their home village. They visit it every Easter, and Giuseppe Villano carries the portrait of the Mother of God in the procession in honour of the Madonna dell' arco.

Yet the film is not unremitting in its gloom. The children have friends of both sexes, German friends. There are some clear attempts at understanding and integration at school and work.

The Villanos hold their own in maintaining the customs of the old country and in keeping the values of family life.

They are holding on to their identity, yet trying to come to terms with a German environment. It is not a choice between going back home or integrating.

Familie Villano kehrt nicht zurück is worth seeing. The cinema is not just wishful thinking and an unrealistic escape. It can also provide information and make us more clearly aware of reality.

Karsten Visarius

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 September 1982)



■ **PROFILE**

The monarchy in the hierarchy of a patriarchy or a matriarchy

At school Heide Göttner-Abendroth preferred reading Schopenhauer and Nietzsche to learning vocabulary. As a student of philosophy and literature she was irritated by "theoretical mumbo-jumbo" and wanted to "reduce theories to their quintessence."

She was interested in almost everything and spent her first five semesters at university studying a wide range of subjects until she discovered the work of Robert Graves and Johann Jacob Bachofen on matriarchy.

She was 20 and fascinated. "It was a mystery to me," she says, "that such interesting material could gather dust in libraries and no-one taught it at university."

So she decided she would have to grasp the initiative. That was over 20 years ago. Heide Göttner-Abendroth, 41, lives in Munich, has three children and teaches philosophy and aesthetics at Munich University.

She deals with matriarchy in her university lectures but has only recently got round to doing so. "In the past," she explains, "I wouldn't have dared to raise such ideas in public.

"I was afraid of being a laughing stock. Matriarchy was felt in academic circles not to be a serious subject."

Working alongside other feminists gave her the courage to come out with her provocation theories on primitive societies in which the female sex played the dominant role.

Her fellow-researchers were women sociologists, philosophers and political scientists dealing each in her own way with the situation of women in history and society.

Her first book, *Die Göttin und ihr Heros* (The Goddess and Her Heros), was published in 1980. It deals with matriarchal religion in the Indo-European area.

"I was totally surprised at the response," she says. "Suddenly I was getting one invitation after another from universities and other educational facilities.

"They all wanted to discuss my work with me, work that fellow-lecturers had long regarded as what they called my private mythology."

Public interest in matriarchy is substantial, but so is prejudice and dislike of the subject, she says after attending any number of debates on it.

The first prejudice was that matriarchy is the mirror-image of patriarchy, with women lording it over men rather than the other way round.

"That is a completely mistaken notion," she says. "Women had no need of forms of domination such as occurred in patriarchy. There was no such thing as power as it is now understood.

"Matriarchies were family societies in which several families combined to form a tribe. They saw themselves as extended families in which the oldest women enjoyed the greatest authority.

"It was a natural authority based on generations. They were practically the grandmothers of the rest and had a wide range of experience and knowledge on the strength of which they deserved and enjoyed greater respect."

This was how Bachofen and other male researchers into matriarchy whose work is referred to by Frau Göttner-Abendroth described matriarchal societies.

Yet they regarded matriarchy as a long period of slavery for the male sex and viewed the end of this humiliation and the beginning of patriarchy as the liberation of the poor oppressed man.

"There can be no question of men being oppressed," she says. She has been happily married to Hermann Abendroth, an engineer, for 16 years.

"When women predominate that doesn't necessarily mean that men are oppressed. Matriarchal societies had a deep, respectful appreciation of natural life cycles.

"They allowed all living beings the room they needed in which to develop, and that naturally included men. Men were also included in decision-making.

"From individual instances it is a known fact that lengthy discussions were held between men and women before a decision was reached by the oldest woman of the tribe."

So much for the widespread prejudice that in matriarchal societies women were argumentative women's libbers and their husbands did as they were told around the house.

Frau Göttner-Abendroth also regularly comes across another prejudice, the idea that only primitive societies of hunters and gatherers had matriarchies.

"No indeed," she says. "Matriarchies went in for highly sophisticated forms of horticulture and crop-growing. The first forms of housing were also developed by women.

"There was a division of labour between women and men, with the men doing work that was not so closely connected with life processes and probably called for greater physical strength.

"They did the clearance work in new fields and ploughed them for the first time. But the sowing was always done by women.

"Women dealt with everything that was connected with life, growth and fertility."

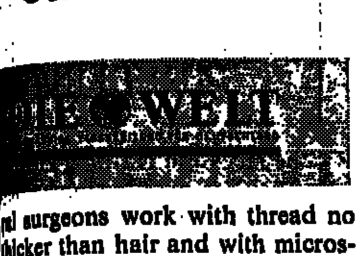
She paints a colourful picture of societies that are seldom mentioned in history books, so seldom that they might never have existed.

This often turns out in public debate to be the main problem. She is asked whether matriarchal societies really existed and if they did, how can they be proved to have done so.

"It depends what you mean by proof," she says. "History can only ever be investigated by means of source material. It can never be proved.

"That is all I do: study source material for historical research. There is a tremendous amount of material on matriarchies that had been simply ignored by official history writing.

"That is the material I use." It includes archaeology, ethnology, an[...] pology, cultural history, folklore [...] sociology.



Heide Göttner-Abendroth ... irr[...] by theoretical mumbo-jumbo.

(Photo: Tadai G[...])

She works her way through her ma[...] rial and puts together, as in a mo[...] all the references to matriarchy [...] comes across in the various fields of [...] search.

She says the matriarchal era las[...] 4,000 years until, about 3,000 years [...] patriarchies emerged. How, she is inv[...] riably asked, were patriarchies able [...] replace matriarchies?

"That is one of the toughest questi[...] there is," she says, "and much too li[...] work has been done on it. The reas[...] why it is so difficult is that people [...] pect a single, comprehensive expla[...] tion. There isn't one.

"Patriarchies evolved over a lo[...] period, partly due to tension within [...] dividual tribes but largely as a resul[...] conquest and intruders.

"It is only 200 years since the last [...] triarchies were subjugated in No[...] America. There is certainly no poin[...] history at which matriarchies can [...] said to have been brought to [...] end."

She is well aware that matriarchi[...] the archaic forms she has unea[...] cannot simply be repeated. "We m[...] carefully study the history of ma[...] chies and see what features of these [...] cieties we can use today and what [...] can learn from them."

The matriarchal woman as she [...] her is worth emulating mainly for [...] versatility. "She was never just a hou[...] wife and mother, as we are today, [...] just an artist or a head of state.

"Matriarchal societies did not ha[...] such forms of specialisation in wh[...] all other inclinations were suppre[...] Matriarchal woman embodies eve[...] thing.

"She was a fighter and courageo[...] yet at the same time a gentle mot[...] and considerate educator. She was [...] creative artist, a reasoned thinker and [...] wise teacher of her tribe. All the[...] qualities overflowed into e[...] other."

Intensive concern with matriar[...] woman has changed Heide Gött[...] Abendroth's life. She has gained [...] only in self-assurance but also de[...] oped in the musical and creative [...] partment.

She now follows a wide range of [...] rests she had as a girl and had [...] thought were dead: singing, [...] dancing, writing poems and doing [...] dicrafts.

And she says without a mome[...] hesitation: "In my family I defini[...] play the leading role."

Waltraud Borgschulze

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 September 19[...])

MEDICINE

Doctors refine techniques of face-wound surgery

[...] surgeons work with thread no thicker than hair and with micros[...] that magnify fortyfold.

[...]ident victims, tumour patients [...] people with congenital facial de[...] rely on the surgeon's skill to ena[...] them to look themselves in the face [...]

Over 1,000 surgeons compared notes [...] sixth European congress on oral, [...] and facial surgery in Hamburg.

They learnt what sensational results [...] been achieved in traumatology, [...] treatment of serious wounds of the [...]

[...]vered parts of the face have been [...] back on with the aid of complica[...] operation techniques. Twenty such [...] were reported from various parts [...] the world.

The tiniest blood vessels and nerves [...] rejoined as the surgeon works with [...] microscope. Prospects are good if the [...] ration is done within two to four [...]

The first operation of this kind was [...] Ian Taylor, an Australian surgeon, in [...]

The technique was first used in Ger[...]y in 1976 in Mainz on a motorcy[...] whose lips, chin and tongue were [...]ed in a crash.

Wolf Höltje of Hamburg University [...]spital told the congress of a compa[...] case, that of a 50-year-old turner [...] was injured at his lathe in the win[...] of 1980.

[...] 11 a.m. a piece tore loose from its [...]nting and ripped off his entire up[...] lip. He was rushed by helicopter to [...] University Hospital, with his sever[...] lip.

"While one surgical team prepared [...] the replantation", Höltje explained, [...] second team cleaned the severed tis[...] and exposed the blood vessels and [...]eas."

By 3 p.m. the lip was back in place [...] his blood was circulating round it.

His wounds had since healed and the scars were practically invisible.

It is most important for patients to have their nerves reconnected by micro-surgery. Otherwise they will be unable to feel or control the movement of the parts sewn back on.

In cases of severe injury or when facial tumours are removed, nerves can be transplanted.

A nerve from the leg or the neck will replace the facial nerve, which is like a telephone cable in consisting of an outer shell and several thinner inner channels.

The substance that relays information and commands then gradually reconstitutes itself in the nerve channels. In the face it can be six months to a year before movements can be coordinated again.

But this process only works in peripheral nerves. If the spinal cord is severed the patient is a paraplegic and irreparably paralysed.

The latest operation techniques can be used to help patients with malignant tumours in an advanced state in the face or throat. Surgeons used to have to give them up because they could no longer help.

Nowadays the prospects are much better. Professor Reuther, chief surgeon at Würzburg University Hospital, has devised a new technique he has successfully used on 30 patients over the past three years.

After tumour surgery he replaces the lower jawbone with metal and plastic and fashions a new mouth, tongue and cheeks out of lower intestinal tissue.

The patients can then breathe and eat normally again.

Gisela Schütte

(Die Welt, 16 September 1982)

Deafness often mistaken for a mental handicap

Poor hearing is often dismissed as a minor problem, if it is identified. Often it is diagnosed as something else.

Children who are hard of hearing are classified as late developers or said to be suffering from a defect that will right itself in time.

Adults who are hard of hearing are often treated for nervous trouble or dismissed as mentally retarded because their powers of speech are limited.

There are about 5.7 million people in the Federal Republic of Germany (population 60 million) with hearing troubles.

Fifty per cent of over-40s have difficulty in hearing, while 150,000 children have poor hearing and, as a result, speech defects, says the Green Cross, a health association.

In mid-September a countrywide campaign, the fourth, publicised the plight of the deaf and hard of hearing. Its patron was Karl Carstens, the Bonn President.

As part of the campaign everyone was entitled to a free hearing check. Health recautions were a matter of humanity, said Health Minister Anke Fuchs in Cologne.

Inaugurating the week-long free hearing check campaign, she said it was not just up to the government, the health schemes or professional organisations to take precautions.

Test facilities were available at hospitals, local authority health department offices, schools for the deaf, facilities of ADAC, the road organisation, and shops that sold hearing aids.

Professor Günter Stange of the Green Cross said it was particularly important for children to be given hearing tests. The aim must be to diagnose all hearing defects during the first year of live.

If defects were not identified in time deep-seated personality maldevelopment could result.

Poor hearing can create mental anguish for adults too, quite apart from medical considerations. Yet people are still reluctant to wear hearing aids, Professor Stange said.

Many people rejected the idea because everyone would then be able to see they were handicapped. But that, he said, was false pride that paved the way for social isolation.

Marion Sichelschmidt

(Rheinische Post, 11 September 1982)

Music therapy as a cure for neuroses

[S]tudents in an art nouveau villa on [...] the banks of the Neckar in Heidel[berg] are pioneering a course in music [ther]apy.

Indoors the 60-odd students play mu[sic]. In their spare time they tend the [spa]cious grounds of the villa in which [the]y live and study.

Music therapy is nothing new, but the [Hei]delberg scheme is the first in the [Fe]deral Republic of Germany to have [...] a special and self-contained course [of] study.

The annual student intake will be 20. [Th]e therapy is expected to help cure [pa]tients suffering from psychoses, neu[ros]es, personality upsets, addiction, re[tar]dation as children and geriatric [pro]blems.

Since 1979 there has been a Heidel[ber]g course in social work with the em[ph]asis on music therapy. It is now to be [of]fered as music therapy with the em[ph]asis on clinical and therapeutic appli[ca]tions.

It will be a distinctive diploma course [a]s opposed to a course in social work.

The exact designation and terms of reference have yet to be finalised.

The experiment is backed by the Rehabilitation Foundation, Heidelberg, the Bonn Education and Science Ministry and the *Land* of Baden-Württemberg.

Bonn's share of the cost will be about DM350,000 this year. Graduates are expected to work in teams and under medical supervision where psychotherapy is involved.

They needn't be perfectly trained musicians. Violin virtuosos and masters of the keyboard are not essential in a bid to gain access to a sick mind.

Musical sensitivity and creativity are needed, however. There is a lengthy entrance exam as part of which would-be students must continue a melody of which a few bars have been played and end a story of which only the beginning has been told.

But a surprising number of music graduates are keen to study music therapy too, which certainly shows there are musicians interested in therapy.

The aim of the programme is to improve psychotherapeutic facilities, says Eckart Kuhlwein, state secretary at the Bonn Education Ministry.

There is not only a shortage of facilities but also of trained staff to help the handicapped, mentally ill and people in need of assistance.

Music therapy will be a four-year course covering psychology, medicine, music and music therapy. Mozart, Mahler and Beethoven would surely be surprised to learn that their work is now being used in this way.

Franka Berger

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 18 September 1982)

Big drop in baby checkups blamed on insurance cuts

Health insurance cutbacks are being blamed for a sharp reduction in the number of babies given regular checkups.

Until last year, almost all babies were checked regularly to see if they were developing normally. This year, the figures has dropped to about 30 per cent.

Dr Erich Koschade told a Press conference in Munich that after a normal delivery, women could now only stay in hospital for six days. Then they were either discharged or became private patients. It used to be 10 days.

Sometimes checkups were not made within those six days, possibly because a weekend was included.

And when checks are made in hospital, they are no longer covered by standard health insurance schemes.

German health insurance schemes were tightened up financially at the end of last year.

The press conference was held in connection with an international gynaecological congress hosted by Karl-Heinz Wulf of Würzburg, president of the German Gynaecological Association.

Professor Wulf called for a more level-headed look at alternative or gentle childbirth, a concept often viewed through ideological blinkers.

The atmosphere in the womb could not be maintained after birth, he said. If it could, the baby might enter the world fast asleep.

Having babies at home was increasingly popular, but home deliveries were a problem in many cases.

At present they accounted for less than one per cent of the total, but oddly enough, or so he felt, more babies were now born at home, relatively speaking, in cities than in rural areas where hospital facilities might be less readily available.

As a rule home deliveries were unintentional. Many pregnant women were overconfident they would make it to hospital in time regardless of traffic jams.

So they left it too late before setting out and before they knew where they were they were in labour.

Gynaecologists are sceptical about outpatient births offered at some clinics.

Once labour pains have started the mother comes to the clinic with her midwife and can be discharged as soon as six hours later.

But tests have shown that outpatient deliveries resulted in more cases of jaundice being identified too late among babies and breast infections among mothers going unnoticed.

Professor Wulf said it was not true that separation from its mother, as was inevitable in cases of Caesarean section, was necessarily a traumatic experience for the baby.

It was not marked for life. The close relationship with its mother could without difficulty be re-established.

In principle he was strongly in favour of further development of programmed childbirth in which labour is induced when the time is right and the biological risk is lowest.

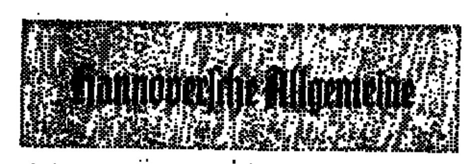
In view of growing difficulties in connection with Sunday and shift working, this option ought no longer to be neglected, he felt.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 14 September 1982)

■ CRIME

Children who stay in jail with their mothers



Serious problems are created for children when their mothers go to prison.

What are the mothers to do? Take the children behind bars with them?

The answer is that they now can. A mother-and-child block was set up at Schwäbisch Gmünd prison two years ago and now houses six mothers, each with one child.

The oldest child is three. The mothers work at ordinary prison jobs during the day, sewing mailbags and the like, while social workers mind the children.

Christian is a smart little boy aged 13 months. As his mother holds his hands and gives him words of encouragement he unsteadily learns how to walk.

It is a scene that could be part of any childhood, or any motherhood for that matter. It seems strange to see it behind bars.

His mother, Elvira Schwegler, 26, is serving a two-year sentence for fraud. She kept ordering goods from mail order companies and "forgetting" to pay the bills until she was taken to court and sentenced.

It seems a tough sentence, but she admits to having spent a previous year in jail for shoplifting.

When she was released she got to know a man, an alcoholic. He soon disappeared, leaving her pregnant. So she ordered layettes and the finest of baby clothes on credit from one mail order firm after another.

The companies took her to court and she gave birth to a boy just after she was sentenced. She took him with her to jail, where they share a large, bright and airy room that looks more like an old-fashioned hospital room than a prison cell.

Another mother in the block is Sieglinde Kraeft, 29, a kleptomaniac. She toured the department stores, was invariably caught and readily admits:

"I just can't leave things alone. Department stores attract me like magic. I'm a really pathological case."

Her husband has divorced her and her 23-year-old boyfriend and father of Michel, 3, is in the Bundeswehr. Michel and Christian are playmates.

Peter Peters, the prison governor, is responsible for the rooming-in experiment. "The aim," he says, "is to enable mothers to learn social behaviour so they can cope with life better on release.

"They can also help to prevent difficulties arising in their relationship with their children."

How do the mothers themselves feel? "Before I had Christian," says Frau Schwegler, "I felt hopeless, despairing, depressed. I even considered suicide.

"But now those days are over, and Christian lacks nothing. He is fed well and cared for, and he is with his mother. There are bound to be children outside who aren't that lucky."

Sieglinde Kraeft is overjoyed too: "I have a child, my Michel. For the first time I know I have something worth looking after.

"If I were outside I wouldn't know how to set about it. I never learnt a trade. But here everything is in order."

Before a child is admitted to the mother and child block at Schwäbisch Gmünd jail a report has to be submitted by the local authority youth department confirming that financial arrangements are settled.

The youth department must also certify that the child cannot be looked after by another member of the family. Medical certificates are likewise required.

The cost of running the block and looking after mothers and children is met by the prisons department.

If the children need special maternal care that can be arranged. On application, mothers can be released from work by the hour to look after them.

"During their stay in the block," the guidelines state, "social workers look after mother and child. Mothers care for their children under such supervision as may be necessary."

Children with organic upsets are not admitted. Rooming-in is ruled out for mothers who, to quote the regulations, "prior to imprisonment seriously endangered the well-being of their child and cannot be expected to develop a positive mother-child relationship under therapeutic supervision."

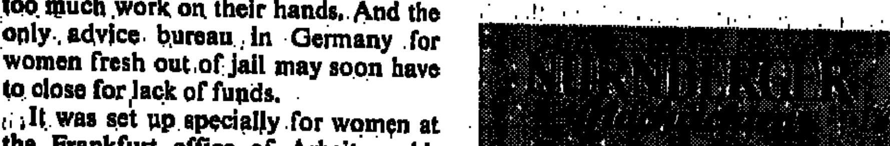
In exceptional cases decisions are to be reached by the governor after consulting the officials responsible.

Red tape apart, the prison is looking forward to a new inmate of the mother and child block. She is a woman already serving time in the main block and due to give birth later this month.

Detlev Claus Scholz

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 September 1982)

Some prefer to remain on the inside looking out



Convicts don't always look forward to their release. Women in particular dread the prospect, so much so that it can cause them serious anguish and distress.

Prison authorities are short of staff and can't help. Probation officers have too much work on their hands. And the only advice bureau in Germany for women fresh out of jail may soon have to close for lack of funds.

It was set up specially for women at the Frankfurt office of Arbeiterwohlfahrt, a welfare organisation, because women's prospects as ex-convicts were felt to be even gloomier than men's.

They tended to be much more isolated and to suffer from greater discrimination at the hands of their environment.

The project was subsidised for three years by the Bonn Youth, Family Affairs and Health Ministry. Then, in 1980, it was kept going on a more permanent basis.

It has since been subsidised by the Hesse Social Affairs Ministry and the city of Frankfurt and employs five full-time and four part-time staff — educationalists, psychologists and lawyers.

They work in an old shop in a Frankfurt suburb and are careful to avoid creating an office impression. But work doesn't begin when the clients pay their first call.

Women are given advice from half a year before they are due for release, in individual weekly sessions, always providing they are willing.

They discuss problems with the family, parents, husbands and children and problems arising from the offence that got them into trouble with the law.

Very few women can return to a reasonably stable background. Most have to start from scratch, with no ties whatever.

Over the three-year pilot project period about 350 women were looked after before and after leaving jail, 156 intensively and 52 for over a year.

Two out of three needed advice on individual problems over and above practical assistance.

Surprisingly often they refused to look reality in the face, had illusions about their prospects and lacked the ability to plan rationally.

Many had to be protected from trying to solve or escape from problems by resorting to alcohol, drugs or one man after another.

Financial difficulties were almost always a further problem. A mere three out of 52 women questioned said they had no debts to clear.

While they are in jail many women find old loans that have to be repaid, maintenance claims, lawyers' and court fees, damages, customs duties (in narcotics offences) and accumulated interest just become too much for them.

The advice bureau may not be able to help with cash, but it can help to sort out the debts.

This service has been costing the bureau DM50,000 a year, which the Frankfurt labour exchange chipped in until mid-1982. But not any longer. So now the financial backing of the entire facility may come unstuck.

A lawyer who works for the bureau says the Frankfurt social affairs department has not only objected to contributing toward debt settlement but also called the city's entire share of the costs into question.

Total costs are about DM300,000 a year. The simplest of financial equations is enough to show that closing it down would be economic nonsense.

Five per cent of women assisted have since been jailed again, or 20 per cent in the case of drug addicts. The figures for female ex-convicts in general are 40 and 60 per cent respectively.

It costs taxpayers DM80 a day to support someone in jail, so the bureau is clearly an economic proposition.

Gerd Rauhaus

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 11 September 1982)

Prisons fill u[p] as recession takes effect

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

The recession is filling German [...] They are overflowing because [...]ple cannot pay fines and have to [...] prison instead.

The Justice Ministers of the *L*[...] are not happy. It is not just the o[...]crowding, but the cost to the taxpay[...]

The state not only forfeits the fi[...] offender is unable to pay (and the[...] longer has to because he has go[...] jail instead); it also has to pay fo[...] upkeep.

The 70s reform of the criminal c[...] aimed at reducing the number of p[...] sentenced for minor offences. F[...] were to be imposed instead.

In eight cases out of 10, petty thiev[...] tricksters and drunken drivers are, [...] given fines that are only converted [...] prison terms if they are unable to pay[...]

In North Rhine-Westphalia 82.9 [...]cent of last year's 171,736 sentenc[...] were fines. In Hamburg it was 14,0[...] out of 18,648, in the Saar 7,522 out [...] 12,540.

In Bavaria 81.8 per cent of 106,[...] sentences were fines, in Lower Sax[...] 80 per cent. And so on.

Since last spring, a straw poll rev[...] the recession has made its mark. N[...] before have so many people reporte[...] sit it out behind bars instead of pa[...] up.

In Lower Saxony 149 convicts in [...] category served time in the first hal[...] 1981. In the first six months of this [...] their number was up to 315, an incre[...] of over 100 per cent.

In Hamburg it was the same s[...] On 18 August 106 men and wo[...] were sitting it out because they [...] unable to pay fines, which was n[...] twice as many as last year.

In North Rhine-Westphalia, w[...] has 17,039 convicts in 34 overcrow[...] prisons, 628 convicts come in this c[...]gory. In April 1981 there were only [...]

In Bavaria their number has [...]creased from 243 to 330 within a ye[...] and the trend is apparent all over [...] country.

Heinz, a 36-year-old teacher from [...] Ruhr, is one of them. He explains h[...]tuation on the telephone from Biele[...] jail, where he has been serving his [...]tence since April.

He prefers not to reveal his sur[...] or the offence that put him behind b[...] but says he got into trouble with the [...] before his final exam, was sacked [...] unable to pay the fine, DM1,800.

So he and others like him are co[...] the taxpayer money: the fine he [...] pay plus the cost of keeping him in [...]son, which is DM99.26 a day in No[...] Rhine-Westphalia.

The Justice Ministries in four *Län*[...] Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg and He[...] have hit on an idea they hope wi[...]lieve the burden.

People unable to pay are now b[...] offered a last-minute option of [...] social work instead of going to [...] They can work in children's and [...] people's homes, hospitals and othe[...]cial service facilities.

By the end of July 200 had take[...]

Continued on page 15

[M]ODERN LIVING

[1]4 classroom knickers [a]ll in a twist

[...]s are still discriminated against [...] schools, a conference of school[...]s. Teachers make unpleasant re[...] about girls in class and textbooks [...]judiced against women.

[...] areas of school life are touched [...] bias, delegates to the first-ever [...]s of schoolgirls in Germany [...]

[...]ly four girls from all categories [...]ool swept into Hanover to put [...]ews and pass resolutions.

[...]y were critical of a feminine mys[...]hat was still taught at school and [...] they said, is a reason why wom[...]tinue to accept their social role [...]t question.

[...] school textbooks girls were shown [...]rnative to the prevailing view of [...], the conference claimed.

[...] analysis of textbooks revealed [...] women were portrayed either as [...]wives and others or as working in [...]ure profession.

[...]y were usually well-behaved and [...]sed, smart and fashionable in ap[...]ance.

[...], on the other hand, were in poli[...] business and portrayed as show[...]itiative and responsibility.

[...]ool itself was still very much a [...]orientated institution, with mainly [...] headmasters and heads of de[...]ment.

[...] conference was particularly [...] in its disapproval of disparag[...] otherwise unpleasant comments [...]mbers of staff about the female [...]

[...]alled on Education Ministries, [...]ok publishers and student bodies [...]re that sexism was banned from [...] curriculums and official guide[...]

[...]ool must one and for all establish [...]erweight to the traditional wom[...]ole as still often favoured by fami[...]nd friends.

[...]en's issues ought also to be in[...] in lessons and women's projects [...] taken up at school.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 14 September 1982)

Boys still have the best of it at school, researchers claim

Frankfurter Allgemeine

[...]ery much a man's (well, a boy's) [...]ld at school, according to two [...]tion surveys.

[...]s are paid much less attention [...] boys in class, educationalists con[...] from surveys in Reutlingen, near [...]rt.

[...]ys are asked questions, or allowed [...]er them, more often than girls. [...]re praised almost twice as often [...]s.

[...]y may also be fobbed off more of[...] with the answer "No, that's [...]." On this point the findings of [...]veys differ.

[...] surveys were by Heidi Frasch [...] Angelika C. Wagner of Reutlingen [...]ers' training college. Professor [...]er is in charge of a project on [...]g strategies backed by the Scien[...] Research Association.

[...] both decided to concentrate on [...] fourth year at school, when German [...]ren are about 10. It is their final year at primary school and in many respects decides their future schooling.

The first survey probed 12, the second 35 fourth-year classes at schools in Reutlingen and its environs. The larger survey involved 1,082 children, with boys and girls in roughly equal number, and 35 teachers (17 women and 18 men).

In each class three lessons (maths, German and civics) were monitored by observers who were not told what the objectives of the survey were.

On average, their combined statistics show, a girl has to put her hand up five times before she is allowed to ask or answer a question, whereas a boy only has to put his hand up four times.

What is more, boys are singled out for attention more often than girls when they have not raised their hands too.

The teaching strategies programme, which is still in progress, gives some idea of what this can mean for girls and boys.

In class they invariably wonder whether or not they are going to be asked to make a personal contribution to the lesson.

When they raise their hands they really want to be asked to say their piece. They are often most disappointed at not being asked, especially when they feel they have something important to say.

The Reutlingen findings also show that very little praise is given in class although educationalists constantly point out how important a word of praise can be.

Boys have to wait on average six lessons before they are given a word of praise. Girls have to wait 10 lessons before they receive this encouragement.

This disadvantage from which the girls suffer, Professor Wagner says, is not only due to them being asked questions less frequently than boys.

Even when girls are given an opportunity to say or show something in class they are praised definitely less often than boys by the teacher for their contribution to the lesson.

There is a widespread feeling among teachers that boys are more difficult in class. True enough, they were called to order more often than the girls, much more often.

The Reutlingen surveys agree with US findings that boys disturb lessons more often than girls, thereby giving more cause to be told to pay attention or to keep quiet.

But the Reutlingen educationalists say the frequency is also attributable to the fact that teachers generally pay more attention to boys than to girls.

When teachers of either sex are asked which pupils are particularly noteworthy (in both a positive and a negative sense) they will, as a rule, name boys only.

Teachers of both sexes directly approach schoolboys, in group work or on the periphery of lessons, nearly twice as often as they approach schoolgirls.

It might be argued that girls offset this by besieging their teachers and bombarding them with questions, i. e. clamouring for attention.

This idea is widespread both in scientific literature and among the general public, but the Reutlingen findings contradict it.

Boys are more given to approaching the teacher on their own, and the distinction is particularly wide in German, which is traditionally viewed as a subject in which girls are more interested.

Yet many more boys than girls were found to consult the teacher even though German is the subject in which they are least neglected when they try to gain attention.

They are nonetheless not called on to answer questions more often than the boys when they put their hands up and try to catch the teachers's eye.

Girls were most strikingly neglected in civics, and male and female teachers were alike in giving the boys preferential treatment.

All told, male teachers tended more strongly to favour boys, but femals teachers more frequently levelled questions at boys who had not raised their hands.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 September 1982)

Legal action not solution to baby bashing, says minister

Law enforcement is not the solution to baby battering, says the Bonn Youth, Family Affairs and Health Ministry.

Frau Anke Fuchs, the Minister, says the aim of getting to grips with the issue should be to enable children to return home without fear of getting bashed again.

The official policy now is not to level accusations at the guilty parent and not to threaten drastic punishment.

New approaches to the problem are outlined in a pamphlet issued by the Ministry.

In it, Frau Fuchs said that in 1981, 1,500 cases of cruelty to children were reported to the police. There were also more than 80 cases of suicide by children.

The figures are getting worse and are felt to be the tip of the iceberg. An estimated 10 per cent of all injuries to children are thought to be because of maltreatment.

So Bonn has decided to adopt a different approach and go back to square one: confinement at the maternity clinic. It is there that the first help can be given.

"Birth at the clinic and the period immediately before and after birth," the brochure says, "present an opportunity of gaining an early warning of possible strains in the parent-child relationship.

"Much closer cooperation between maternity clinics and social service after-care is urgently needed."

Points to note at birth are what the mother looks like, what she says and does and whether there are signs that the parents are sad, disappointed, annoyed or ambivalent in their response to the baby.

Those who doubt whether this method is very effective are told that it has proved most satisfactory in the United States, where there are labour ward checklists.

Observation of how women breastfeed their babies in the first few days after birth has been found to reveal families where the baby may have a rough time and to provide an opportunity of providing welfare after-care.

The Ministry is backing experimental projects in Berlin and Gütersloh that are aimed at solving conflicts. Both have in their care children that have been taken from their parents because of mistreatment or neglect.

But in addition to caring for the children, social workers also maintain close ties with the parents and offer help and advice.

Children born with congenital defects are particularly liable to maltreatment. So are children who have spent time in local authority care.

Children are found time and again to be maltreated because they suffer from imperceptible defects of the central nervous system that make them seem restless and develop in a manner inappropriate to their age.

The brochure is particularly critical of the confusion of responsibility for dealing with cases of baby battering.

In each case up to three dozen officials of various agencies and departments were called in yet there could hardly be any question of real help being given:

"Much of the official and private assistance lent nowadays in preventing cruelty to children tends either to exercise control or is entirely ineffectual."

The Deutscher Kinderschutzbund, or Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, with its head office in Hanover, does not feel its work is meant.

Its business manager, Walter Wilken, coordinates the activities of 30,000 members in 280 local groups. He has one point he would particularly like to make:

"If we were to retain the culprit-orientated approach to cruelty to children and were to bring all offenders to book, why most parents would be serving prison sentences right now."

Eberhard Nitschke

(Die Welt, 15 September 1982)

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the offer of working off a day's jail or the equivalent by doing six hours' work.

But other *Länder* have reservations. Inge Donnepp, SPD Justice Minister in North Rhine-Westphalia, says pilot projects in city-states are not necessarily suitable in her state's case.

Hesse might give a better idea, but findings were not yet available.

Walter Remmers, CDU Justice Minister in Lower Saxony, is unhappy too. He would prefer not to consider what might be felt to amount to forced labour merely because someone was unable to pay a fine.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 3 September 1982)